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NEW TIMES

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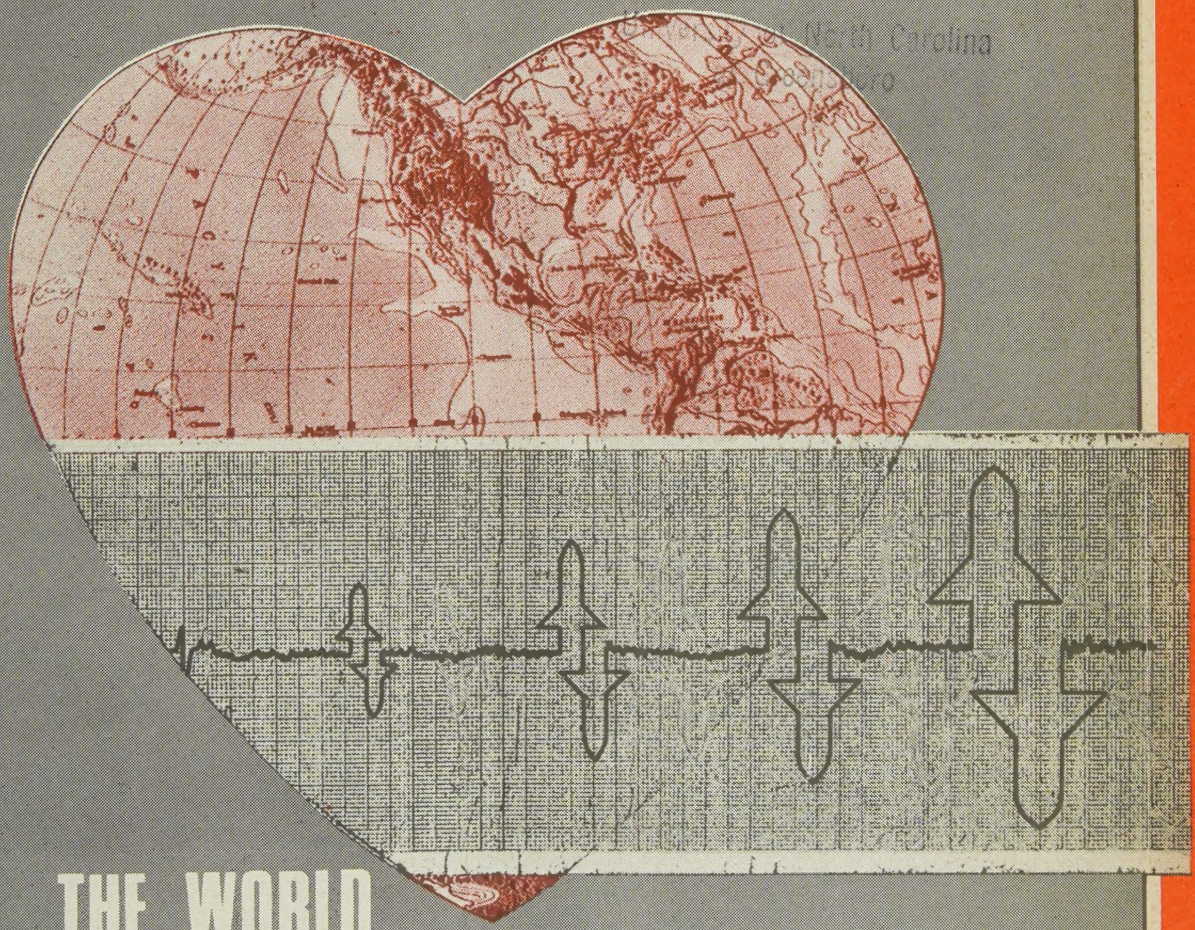
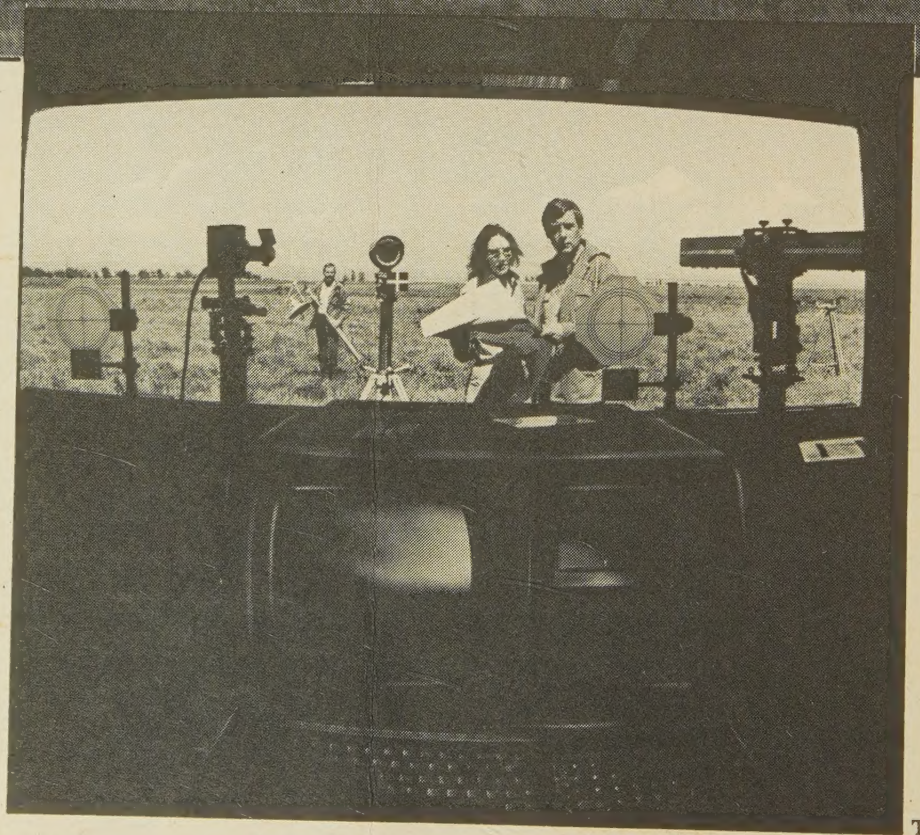


THE WORLD IS IN PERIL, ACT NOW!

Laser technology has already found extensive application in industry and medicine, and is contributing significantly to the development of communication facilities.

In the Soviet Union the laser is being put to ever newer uses. In Kirghizia, for instance, it has been given an, at first, unexpected "agricultural job." In arid regions peasants have to know for certain which fields need watering, and which are waterlogged. When carried out the conventional way, the necessary analysis takes a whole day. A laser moisture meter developed in Frunze collects all the relevant data in ten minutes.



A laser moisture meter being tested. ● This laser unit registers the moisture in the soil.

TASS photos

THE PULSE OF THE PLANET

To represent our planet as a throbbing heart is an excellent idea. It occurred to the Polish artist whose poster we reproduce on our cover. Indeed, our planet, which has already been through such a lot, is now facing trials that are difficult enough for it to need its pulse to be felt daily--even hourly. We are not inveterate pessimists or hypochondriacs, far from it. We are simply convinced that international relations need continuous, universal, sensitive and effective prophylaxis.

The trouble with many happy developments is that they are promptly forgotten, especially if people want them forgotten. But mankind ought not to succumb to this temptation, otherwise it will remember nothing but wars, disasters, conflicts and disputes, although many good and encouraging things have certainly happened--and are still happening--to the world. One should not forget détente which Western propaganda maliciously dismisses as a "fallen star." Since the signing of the historic Helsinki Final Act just over a decade ago, on August 1, 1975, the Helsinki process of dialogue, negotiations and agreements has been continuing in Europe notwithstanding all the difficulties.

There still are vast regions, however, where no, or almost no Helsinki-like dialogues are being conducted. Take the vital Asian-Pacific area, for instance, where military conflagrations have flared up fairly frequently over the past decades. By the will of Western militarists it is again becoming an arena of military-political confrontation, and the threat of war is increasing at a dangerously high rate.

The Pacific nations certainly deserve a better fate. In Vladivostok Mikhail Gorbachev put forward an extremely important new and detailed programme to bring about international security and peaceful cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region. Why not convene a Pacific conference of the Helsinki type, he suggested, with all the countries that converge on the ocean taking part? And why not convene it in Hiroshima? In that case the first victim of the atomic evil would become the Helsinki of Asia and the Pacific.

For all the differences between them, the world's states have in common the need to coexist in the international community. Whenever there is instability in one part of the world, it threatens to spread to others. So let us try to put this factor of interdependence to good use by strengthening security in all regions, one after another. By making the most of its potential for common sense, mankind can avert the danger signalled by the planet's feverish pulse today.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

The energy of the fissionable atom is pregnant with many dangers. Yet if we look back we shall see that the road to scientific and technological progress was never an easy one, that at no time have discoveries been made without sacrifices. New technology achieves perfection only through use. The search for the guaranteed safety of nuclear power plants should not be an objective only on paper. Meanwhile, Western mass media challenge us consistently to discuss the question of whether the energy of the peaceful atom should be tapped at all. As I see it, that smacks more of propaganda undertaken to divert attention from SDI and the arms race.

Michael GARLING
Berlin, G.D.R.

The U.S. Administration has been making a great deal of fuss about human rights. But didn't the 269 people aboard the Korean airliner KAL-007 3 years ago have any human rights, in the U.S. President's view, except of being used to cast aspersions on the Soviet Union, to aggravate tensions, and to put pressure on the U.S. Congress to approve a higher military budget!

Gaetano BRANCALEONE
San Diego, U.S.A.

We are so happy today to hear about the latest achievement of our Soviet cosmonauts. But then you open a newspaper and read that the Italian FIAT concern is prepared to help with U.S. plans for the militarization of space while Japan wants to subscribe to preparations for "star wars." It really cuts you to the quick when you see that while we offer the "peace" space station they come back with what can be called "war" space station.

Alexei KURGANOV
Moscow Region, U.S.S.R.

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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31 August 11 1986

Founded 1943

3 Asian-Pacific Region. The Need for Agreement Across the Board

11 Norway. Not by Oil Alone

14 U.S.S.R.—F.R.G. "Cloudy with Sunny Intervals. . ."

18 A Year of Soviet Moratorium

22 G.D.R. Saving Every Ton and Hour

24 Report from Brazil

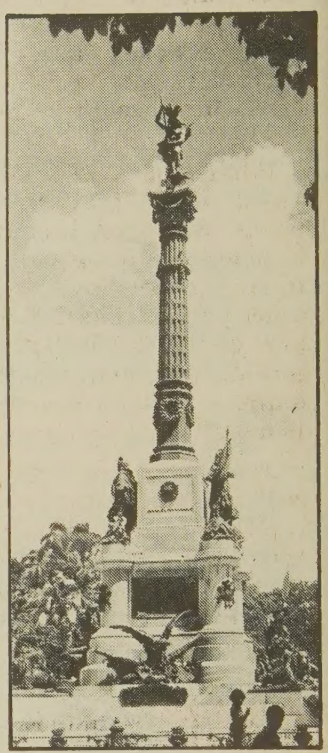
27 TV Debate on World Security

THE EDITOR'S PAGE (1). PANORAMA (8). READERS' FORUM (16). APPOINTMENTS (21). TAKING UP A POINT (32). COVER: The Polish Poster.

FOR MORE THAN A YEAR NOW

the U.S.S.R. has had no nuclear tests. The Soviet moratorium has been prolonged three times. However, the U.S. has answered this gesture of good will with fifteen explosions in Nevada and a smear campaign to minimize the importance of these major Soviet initiatives. Why does Washington so obstinately continue testing? How does the international public see the altitudes of the two powers with regard to nuclear disarmament? In this issue Prof. Tair Tairov of the Soviet Union, and Prof. K. P. Misra of India give their views.

P. 18



BRAZIL'S NEW FRONTIER

Though this vast country is forging ahead with record-breaking industrialization, its economic achievements are attended by cheerless results in other fields such as the astronomical external debt and the poverty affecting millions. Our special correspondent's report gives a picture of daily life in Brazil today.

P. 24

TV DEBATE ON CURRENT POLITICAL ISSUES

In this issue we publish the concluding part of the transcript of a debate on current political issues recently broadcast by Soviet television in its popular Studio Nine programme. The discussion was led by TV commentator Valentin Zorin, and his guests were Academician Georgi Arbatov, Director of the U.S. and Canada Studies Institute under the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Egon Bahr, a member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, David Owen, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Britain and former Foreign Secretary, and Valentin Falin, Chairman of the Board of the Novosti Press Agency.

P. 27

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THE NEED FOR AGREEMENT ACROSS THE BOARD

"The Soviet state appeals to all countries in Asia and the Pacific to cooperate for peace and security."

These words from Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok on July 28 usher in a new crucial phase in the political situation in that part of the world.

What happens in Asia and the Pacific is of interest to the U.S.S.R. both at national and state levels. However, this does not at all imply claims to privileges or special status; nor is it an attempt to strengthen Soviet security to the detriment of other parties. The U.S.S.R. is convinced that in this part of the world too it is vital to pool efforts and establish cooperation with full respect for every nation's right to live as it chooses and cope independently with its problems in conditions of peace.

Meanwhile there is a plethora of problems in the region, as the world's largest states, the U.S.S.R., the U.S., India, China, Japan, Vietnam, Mexico and Indonesia, are located there. The region also includes Canada, the Philippines, New Zealand and scores of small, even tiny, countries. Various forms of government and of political life, as well as various economic structures and social, religious and cultural features and traditions are represented.

Historical experience and scientific and technological progress make it imperative to look for ways of achieving accords and establishing frank and open ties between countries. Unfortunately, instead of this, attempts are being made to involve them in blocs, restrict them in the free disposal of their resources, force them to join the arms race and inflate military spending.

What will the region be like when it enters the new, third, millennium? The destiny of the entire world will depend to a large degree upon the answer to this question. The Soviet Union believes that in this part of the world too a comprehensive system of security and peaceful interaction is vital. In his speech Mikhail Gorbachev set out a wide-scale and realistic programme for the creation of such a system.

In seeking lasting peace in the region, the U.S.S.R. advocates the establishment and expansion of mutually advantageous cooperation with all its states. These issues were put forward at our Round Table discussion whose participants included Valery Chichkanov, corresponding member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and director of the Institute of Economic Studies of the Academy's Far Eastern Scientific Centre, Prof. Dmitry Petrov, department head of the Academy's Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Yuri Stolyarov, candidate of economic sciences, sector chief of the Academy's Institute of World Economics and International Relations, and Yuri Znamensky, director of the Main Centre for Research in International Problems of Fishing.

N.T. Many problems are facing the countries in this part of the world. But before we consider them in detail, how can we characterize the overall situation in the region?

Petrov. The markedly increased role of the Pacific region in the worldwide system of international relations is a crucial factor in world politics. Higher rates of economic growth than in, for instance, Western Europe enabled the U.S., Japan and certain small countries and territories in the region increase their industrial production to 60 per cent of the capitalist world's total. As far as the U.S.S.R. is concerned, Siberia and the Far East are advancing at fast rates. In recent years China's economy has gained substantially.

On the other hand, the main areas of confrontation are gradually identifying themselves in the region. The interests of four leading powers, the U.S.S.R., the U.S., China and Japan, interweave and clash there. The smaller countries, both socialist and non-aligned, are also exercising greater political influence.

For some time the region's significance as a military-strategic area has been growing greatly inasmuch as the U.S. Administration is seeking to undermine the strategic balance by reviving old blocs and trying to create new ones. Washington's allies and dependencies are being embroiled in the arms race. In 1984 military spending in the non-socialist countries of Asia and the Pacific, inclusive of the U.S. and Canada, comprised nearly two thirds of the capitalist world's total, which of course had an adverse impact on their national economies.

It is therefore vital to end the arms race as soon as possible. All the states in the area must be in a position to develop along the path of peace and progress.

Stolyarov. Indeed, we cannot unfortunately describe the Pacific today as a zone of peace and well-being. Yet the existence in the region of states with different social systems, whose levels of development likewise differ, makes it especially vital to establish a just economic order, mutually advantageous commercial ties and business cooperation.

The intensive establishment of closer economic relations that is to be observed in the region allows us to regard it, in principle, as an integral whole. However, political and other obstacles stand in the way of still closer economic relationships. Thus, the U.S. and Japan seek to exploit the objective processes of economic development in the Pacific countries to form a closed bloc. At one time the concept of a "Pacific community" was current. The votaries of this concept believe such a grouping could radically tip the balance of forces in favour of the capitalist camp. Hence the West's desire to keep the socialist nations out of any involvement in establishing an open

and mutually advantageous system of regional relationships.

N.T. The idea of a "Pacific community" has been the subject of animated controversy for years. Its Japanese advocates stress the growing, primarily economic, interdependence of the states in the region. The U.S. regards it as a nucleus for a "superbloc." Both designs disturb the developing Pacific countries, especially the ASEAN states, which have no desire whatever to be economically dependent on Japan or to be drawn into Washington's global strategy. Our own correspondent Yuri Tavrovsky reports from Tokyo:

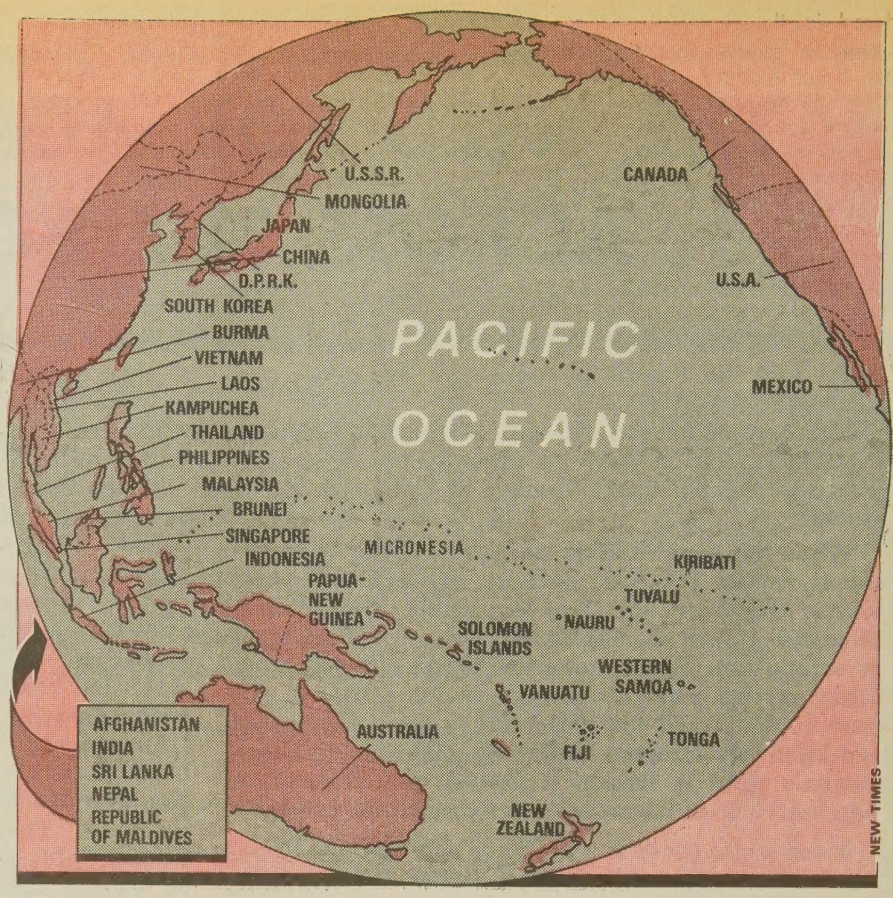
The underlying purpose of the "Asia-Pacific Economic Symposium" recently held in Tokyo was to revive flagging interest in a "Pacific community" by offering the developing countries new areas for multilateral cooperation.

Why is the idea of a "Pacific community," which at first sight seemed so attractive, ceasing to evoke interest? One cause was identified with disarming bluntness by a U.S. participant in the symposium. He said that the idea had produced more apprehensions about losing sovereignty than hopes of regional integration. The creation of a purely economic grouping, within which Japan is likely to be dominant, is not to Washington's advantage. Meanwhile efforts to build a "Pacific NATO" have been less effective than the promotion of bilateral military cooperation.

Well aware of the direction of U.S. policy vis-à-vis Asia, participants in the symposium were not surprised when Michael Mansfield, U.S. Ambassador to Japan, omitted the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries from his list of Pacific states. The only exception was made in the case of China, which was permitted to hope for "a cooperative relationship" with the countries of the Pacific in the 21st century, provided "it more fully integrates its economy into that of the rest of the Pacific basin."

Noboru Goto, a vigorous champion of the "Pacific economic community," proposed starting a "Pacific system of information networks" which would eventually be an element in the "economic network of the Pacific community." As he sees it, this would promote economic progress by having the developed and developing states exchange financial and technological information.

Speakers from developing countries preferred to stress contemporary problems that are agitating them today. They drew attention to growing protectionism, diminishing commodity purchases and investment on the part of Japan and the other developed countries, the widening technological gap and the shortage of skilled personnel. The feasibility of cooperation between countries at different levels of economic and technological development within the framework of an integrated information system was seen as extremely questionable.



The symposium showed that the idea of a "Pacific community," or of what is more often called today "Pacific cooperation," is still far from being realized. With good reason, the region's developing countries are afraid of being trapped either in the steel cage of a U.S.-devised military-political grouping or in the computerized yen-gilded cage of the contemporary version of the notorious "co-prosperity sphere" which militarist Japan sought to create during the last war.

N.T. We should clarify the following point. The Soviet Union treats the idea of "Pacific economic cooperation" without prejudice and is prepared to take part in discussions of possible foundations for such cooperation, provided, naturally, that it is not conceived on a bloc, anti-socialist basis. Accordingly, the new Soviet proposals for security in Asia and the Pacific have acquired special significance.

Petrov. It stands to reason that effective cooperation within this vast region can certainly develop only in conditions of security and confidence. In his Vladivostok speech Mikhail Gorbachev set out large-scale concrete initiatives on this score. One should note in particular the U.S.S.R.'s comprehensive approach and preparedness to look, with other countries in the region, for ways and means of resolving existing problems.

As for the economic aspect, the U.S.S.R. proposes expanding commercial-economic and technological-scientific cooperation in developing productive forces, training personnel, tapping new sources of energy, nuclear included, and drafting measures for environmental protection, the rational exploitation of marine resources, and the peaceful use of outer space.

In the humanitarian area, all these measures could be combined with the broadest promotion of contacts and ties in different fields of culture, sport and tourism, in short, in all spheres of human relationships.

It is precisely a comprehensive approach of this kind that could yield optimum results.

N.T. Are there any possibility for wide-scale Soviet participation in the regional division of labour? Bourgeois journalists and researchers view this with scepticism, to say the least. What do you think?

Chichkanov. Let me cite the following example. Speaking with Saburo Okita, a prominent Japanese politician and onetime foreign minister, I won-

dered in theory whether the U.S.S.R. could not participate in "Pacific economic cooperation," as outlined above. After all, we have openly stated that we are prepared to participate most actively in regional cooperation, naturally, on the basis of equality and mutual advantage. Okita tried to justify the negative attitude of the main capitalist countries, including his own, to this proposal by saying that "the ideology of the Pacific community is geared to market-economy countries." I don't think this is a very convincing excuse.

There is objective evidence which could serve to promote equal and mutually advantageous cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Pacific nations and this evidence cannot be ignored.

Today the question is one of incorporating the Soviet Far East's economic complex into the pattern of the international division of labour. There are ways in which this can be done. Let us express them in concrete terms.

Firstly, the mutual complementing of economies, a situation which is unlikely to change over coming decades, despite the restructuring of production, more specifically, in Japan, to emphasize energy-, material-, and resource-saving technology. At any rate, there will still be a demand for raw and other materials and energy.

Secondly, the Soviet Union is important as a vast market for the countries of the region, a factor that is made particularly relevant by the completion of the Baikal-Amur Railway and the economic development and settlement of the surrounding area that have been initiated.

Thirdly, I see as a factor of no mean significance the circumstance that the U.S.S.R. is universally acknowledged as a reliable commercial and economic partner.

Stolyarov. Let me add that broader Soviet involvement in Pacific economic affairs will be especially beneficial to the developing countries. Their role as depots of raw materials and semi-manufactured products for U.S. and Japanese economies has resulted in the staggering economic, scientific and technological backwardness of a number of countries. The U.S. has imposed protectionist restrictions on supplies of raw materials and textiles from the ASEAN countries. The South Pacific island states, whose sole natural wealth is fish, remonstrate against outright poaching in their waters by U.S. fishing vessels. For Thailand, the Philippines and Singapore, commerce with Japan is conducted at a loss due to discrimination by Tokyo which, to protect its own producers, does not purchase industrial products from the ASEAN countries. Then take Japan's "generous gratuitous aid." I. Murai, a Japanese specialist on the region's problems, says: "Aid often serves as a tool for Japanese business, with probably between 80 and 90 per cent of development aid reverting to Japan in the form of building contracts, etc."

N.T. What concrete forms could Soviet aid take?

Stolyarov. The countries in the region need tangible assistance and equitable economic relations. They also need technical and technological aid and help in the training of personnel. In short, the economic restructuring of the entire region is essential.

THE SOVIET UNION PROPOSES TO:

— **tackle questions of regional settlement;**

— **obstruct the proliferation and buildup of nuclear weapons in Asia and the Pacific;**

— **start talks to reduce naval activity, especially that of nuclear-carrying warships, in the Pacific;**

— **secure a radical cutback in armed forces and conventional armaments in Asia to rationally adequate levels;**

— **put on a practical plane discussions of confidence-building measures and the non-use of force in the region.**

The Soviet Union is prepared to participate in such restructuring and to provide the necessary assistance. We have the relevant experience. By the early 1980s Mongolia had built 400 installations with Soviet help; they have become the backbone of its national economic advancement. In Vietnam, the Soviet Union is helping to build Southeast Asia's biggest Hoa Binh hydroproject, with a nearly two million kilowatt capacity, to restore its transport network and establish and promote leading branches of the economy. An agreement has been reached with China to build seven new installations and retool 17 already in operation. We are ready to help Thailand build a large complex on the Mekong River.

Soviet ships transport cargoes from ASEAN countries. The U.S.S.R. is helping ASEAN states to organize their own national shipping lines and train competent personnel for their merchant fleets. Multilateral studies of problems concerned with increasing the capacities of ports and such waterways of international significance as the straits of Malacca and Macassar would be important for all Pacific countries. The regular exchange of information and the use of space-based means of communication and observation, and modern navigation and communication systems would be most effective.

The U.S.S.R. is prepared to promote cooperation with Pacific states in surveying mineral wealth and prospecting for various mineral deposits. Our colleges of higher education may contribute to regional personnel training for the ASEAN states, and accept undergraduates and postgraduates from them.

There are also wide opportunities for cooperation in fishing and ecological studies.

N.T. As we are on the subject, let us invite the opinion of Yuri Znamensky, director of the recently founded Main Centre for Research in International Problems of Fishing:

This year, Znamensky said, a Soviet delegation visited Anchorage, Alaska, where we discussed with representatives from the U.S., Canada, Japan and the People's Republic of China options for setting up a new organization for multilateral cooperation in fishery and oceanographic research in the North Pacific.

We concluded that fishing largely depends on the results of research, but that here the efforts of one country alone were manifestly inadequate. As a rule, fish populations and water masses find themselves within the zones of different states as they move around. However, so far research in the region is carried out either under national programmes or on a bilateral basis. The pooling of scientific efforts would expedite the solution of major problems and ensure a wider ecological approach.

The Chinese are interested in both multilateral and bilateral contacts between their scientists and ours. As an initial move, they proposed joint salmon studies in the Amur River. We showed interest in their proposals.

It would not be out of place to recall that the first Soviet-Japanese agreement signed after the last war was concerned with fishing. Only five months later, on May 14, 1956, a joint Soviet-Japanese declaration on the restoration of diplomatic relations was signed as a continuation of the dialogue thus initiated. Allow me to note that

the Soviet Union, unlike Japan's other partners, has never imposed discriminatory fishing conditions on it.

Soviet fishermen have traditionally fished off America's Pacific seacoast. In 1967 the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. signed the first intergovernmental agreement on fishing. Two years later they initiated research expeditions under joint programmes for which the Soviet side annually allotted as many as four research vessels. At annual conferences Soviet and U.S. scientists continue to exchange data and coordinate research techniques. Since 1979 studies have been following five-year programmes. After the U.S. introduction of a 200-mile coastal zone, cooperation has been developing within the context of the joint Sovam fishing company. The size of the catch, fishing areas and the variety caught are on the increase.

Besides intensifying fishing in the Soviet 200-mile coastal zone, the Soviet Dalryba amalgamation is cooperating with many countries in the region under intergovernmental agreements and contracts and through joint associations and firms.

The Soviet Dalryba amalgamation fishes within the coastal waters of Vietnam supplying that country with part of the marine produce thus obtained. Close cooperation is also maintained with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Dalryba boats also fish in New Zealand and Australian waters, and cooperation with these countries will enable us in future to tackle the comprehensive exploitation of the resources of the Southern Pacific.

Today as before the Pacific, the largest and from the angle of resources the richest of all oceans, is essential for the economies of the littoral states. Nowadays much depends on a scientific approach to practical matters. It behoves these states, and especially pisciculture, to preserve the region's great wealth of flora and fauna and to organize fishing so that it ensures the faster growth of marine populations besides making for good-sized catches. Pisciculture is also playing a greater role in the effort to improve the pattern of foreign economic ties. It should take part not only in the development of scientific and technological cooperation but also in the prediction and planning of catches in foreign waters.

N.T. Though these forms of commercial and economic cooperation in the Pacific have paid off, can we stop there! Are not new forms and methods conceivable!

Chichkanov. Unquestionably so. We must promote the export potential of the Soviet Far East, of which Mikhail Gorbachev has spoken. It is necessary to turn from the export of raw materials to the export of semi-manufactured goods. The timber complex could serve as an illustration of an industry geared to export. Though the Far East accounts for a goodly proportion of Soviet timber exports, what this brings for the Soviet Union is little compared with what it could bring were timber more widely processed locally. Our institute is blueprinting a comprehensive Far East programme envisaging the advancement and optimum distribution of the region's productive forces up to the year 2000, wherein in-depth processing of raw materials is essential. For us in-depth processing and high quality represent the basic guides in efforts to promote commercial and economic cooperation between the countries of the region.

> **Out of our own Soviet experience we well know what a vast creative potential is inherent in the reborn feeling of national dignity, what a creative role accrues to the underivative character of a people in its organic link with other equal and free peoples. Currently in Asia and the Pacific zone this process is on the upgrade; everything there is in a state of flux and far from everything has settled. The new mingles with the old, the mode of life which but yesterday seemed bedrock firm retreats in the face of a whirl of social, scientific and technological and ideological changes. This, if you like, is one more period of renascence in world history pregnant with an immense potential for progress, moreover not only for Asia and Oceania.**
>
> **The trend that further socio-economic and political development takes and the processes that prevail in interstate relations will largely shape the destinies of the entire world.**
>
> **Mikhail Gorbachev**
> Excerpted from his speech in Vladivostok

We must also seek new forms of commercial and economic cooperation. For instance, general compensation-based agreements are currently operative in our trade with Japan. Looking ahead we could consider joint enterprises to exploit the extremely rich Udokan copper deposits, which are within the zone of the Baikal-Amur Railway, and refine the raw copper locally. After all, the world does not have that many copper deposits.

There is also a project to build an iron and steel works in the Far East. Of mammoth proportions, it is to be undertaken on a compensation basis.

Coastal or border trade represents one more form of advantageous cooperation, as it provides good potential for further development. Thus, regions, territories and cities in the Far East could conclude contracts with their opposite numbers in Japan, China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and Vietnam. And there are possibilities for concluding similar deals with other countries.

In short, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of the Far East are ready to act. But a joint effort must be made. We believe it vital to set up in this country a single centre for the region's problems which would coordinate research and development, overcome parochialism, furnish recommendations for all branches recruited to develop the Far East, and establish international commercial and economic cooperation with the Pacific states.

One thing that is absolutely necessary is to evolve a comprehensive purposeful Pacific Ocean programme, which I would term national-global as it should encompass all problems of both the ocean itself and its seaboards. The existing programmes are of a narrow regional or industrial nature. Meanwhile, the object of this programme would be to tackle questions of the development and exploitation of the resources of Asia and the Pacific, socio-economic progress, environmental protection, commercial-economic and scientific-technological cooperation and security for all states in the Pacific.

One more thing. Jointly with Prof. Stephen John of the University of Hawaii and with the participation of several Soviet and U.S. institutes and universities, we have prepared a publication entitled "Soviet-U.S. Relations in the Pacific: Past, Present and Future." During this work we realized that Americans have a very hazy, distorted notion of Soviet Siberia, especially its Far Eastern part. At the same time, there is a lot we do not know about California and the west coast of the United States. The purpose of the book is to provide an unbiassed picture of the development and potential of the Soviet Far East and the American West, which are neighbours across the Pacific.

One apposite instance of cooperation is afforded by combined U.S.-U.S.S.R. fishing operations in the zone of the Aleutians in the Northern Pacific. The U.S. fishing vessel Viking handed over a 20-ton cod catch to the Soviet ship Nadezhdinsk for processing. Soviet fishermen will retain a share of the catch after the cod has been skinned, filleted and frozen.

Seen on the right is a U.S. Fishing Inspector aboard a Soviet factory ship. Experience shows that reciprocated respect and preparedness to cooperate prevent serious complications.

Reproduced from the National Geographic magazine (U.S.)

N.T. Would it be realistic, given present political tensions, to talk of commercial-economic and scientific-technological cooperation in the Pacific?

Petrov. We should start by establishing a dependable system of security and confidence which would serve as a foundation and earnest of mutually advantageous cooperation. The collective experience accumulated by the countries and nations of the region since the end of the war must on no account be lost sight of. We mean the five principles of peaceful coexistence and the ten principles of Bandung, Mongolia's call to draft and conclude a convention on non-aggression and non-use of force in relations among the Asian and Pacific countries, the proposal of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to make the Korean peninsula a denuclearized zone, and to achieve the peaceful reunification of the Korean people without outside interference, the policy the countries of Indo-China have adopted to make Southeast Asia a zone of peace and cooperation, and, finally, the treaty signed by the 13 states in August 1985 to make the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone.

It is, of course, first of all necessary to have full equality for all states, large or small, in drafting and adopting different decisions so that the interests of none be infringed upon. I would like to stress that the small and medium countries could also make a weighty contribution to a system of lasting security for the region.

I would stress the need for the flexible combination of the different levels at which the objectives of strengthening peace and cooperation in the Pacific should be accomplished. There are a number of measures which it would be advisable to discuss on a regional basis, as applicable exclusively to Asia and the Pacific. Agreement should be reached also at "subregional" levels to cope with the problems, for example, of the Korean peninsula, of Indo-China, or of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. As the most representative conference of all Asian and Pacific countries, an all-Asia forum would offer an excellent opportunity for discussing various issues and concluding agreements. Surely the idea of holding a Pacific conference modelled on the Helsinki one, which Mikhail Gorbachev suggested in Vladivostok, is realistic.

The Soviet commitment on the no-first-use of nuclear weapons and the Soviet nuclear test moratorium are extremely conducive to generating the appropriate political climate. The People's Republic of China has also announced that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons. Were the other nuclear powers to follow this example, the small states of the Pacific, especially of the South Pacific, would no longer fear weapons of mass destruction.

N.T. However, it has unfortunately been the case so far, as we have already noted, that the countries of the region have increasing grounds for apprehension. The conclusion that should be drawn is therefore all the more obvious: it is necessary to involve Asia and the Pacific in the overall process of establishing a comprehensive system of international security, as outlined by the CPSU at its 27th Congress.

The region of Asia and the Pacific is currently undergoing renascence, which is pregnant with an immense potential for progress. It is playing a steadily increasing role in world politics, a role that must be peaceful, constructive and creative.

Round Table moderator
V. OVSYANNIKOV

JAPAN

Tokyo and SDI

"Shortly the government will look into the issue of Japan's participation in the SDI programme," a New Times correspondent was told by Michio Watanabe, onetime Minister of International Trade and Industry, a man close to Nakasone. Masaharu Gotoda, secretary-general of the cabinet of ministers, said not long afterwards that in all likelihood Japan might become involved after all in SDI.

The background to this dangerous trend is as follows. Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone first mentioned SDI in January 1985, saying he "understood" the American concept of developing space weapons. However, at the time he was careful in choosing his words in view of his fellow countrymen's opposition to the nuclear weapons which are to be a component of the "space shield." Last summer Nakasone moved another step forward: he supported Bonn's position which, in turn, was largely a carbon copy of London's approach to SDI. In other words, Nakasone went over from "understanding" to "support." "SDI will be with us for decades," an official from the Prime Minister's retinue told a correspondent of the French magazine L'Express. "The Europeans and the Japanese will be drawn into it in one way or other. And we want to become a party to it from the outset."

As for industrial circles, their cooperation was secured by means of a Japanese-American agreement, signed in November 1983, which offered Tokyo a chance to take an active part in developing space weapons. At that time Tokyo leaders agreed to hand over military equipment and technology to the Pentagon, including the so-called dual-purpose technology which can be used by the U.S. army but the supply of which does not look like arms export.

So, Japanese companies have been dealing directly with the Pentagon for quite some time. The new equipment the Pentagon needs for SDI falls exactly into the dual-purpose category. "Take the superfast computers, for instance," Asahi writes. "This is a kind of equipment which we excel at making and which is of vital importance for SDI."

Of no less importance to Washington is the political aspect of Japan's participation in SDI. This would demonstrate, first of all, full support for the American strategy; and second, consolidate the Japanese-American Security Treaty. The military-political alliance with Japan has become the mainstay of U.S. strategy in the Far East.

Why is it that Japan is being pressed so hard to participate in the preparations for "star wars" today? The answer is simple enough: after the elections won by the ruling Liberal Democrats, the party is in a position to push bills that suit it through parliament. After all, Prime Minister Nakasone's party won 300 parliamentary seats out of 512 and, what's more, ten more MPs have joined it.

This year several delegations have visited the United States in rapid succession to familiarize themselves with American space-weapon research projects. The reports the delegations prepared pictured Japan's role in SDI as merely a harmless research partnership. Actually, Japan's involvement in SDI would amount to a violation of its three non-nuclear principles and, consequently, to the loss of its independence in political decision-making.

Japan's participation in the "star wars" programme runs counter to the resolution on the use of outer space for peaceful purposes adopted by parliament in May 1979. "Even granted that SDI is a non-nuclear and purely defensive programme [which it is not!—**Y. T.**], it is, no doubt, aimed at developing weapons, and its military character is obvious. Therefore it is entirely out of keeping with the spirit of the parliamentary resolution," the Mainichi writes.

The country's democratic forces are campaigning for the strict observance of the non-nuclear principles and against Japan becoming involved in SDI. Despite pressure from above, local organs of power are voting for non-nuclear zones. So far, 990 Japanese cities and settlements and seven prefectures have been declared nuclear-free.

Y. TAVROVSKY
Our Own Correspondent

Tokyo

U.S.S.R.—URUGUAY

A New Chapter

Enrique Iglesias, Uruguay's Minister of Foreign Affairs, was in the Soviet Union on an official visit on July 24-27. It was the first-ever visit by the head of the Uruguayan Foreign Ministry to the Soviet Union.

We in the Soviet Union appreciate the fact that Uruguay was the first country in South America to establish diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. in 1926. For their part the people of that distant Latin American country have not forgotten that in the early thirties trade links with the Soviet Union helped consolidate the public sector of the Uruguayan economy.

The six decades since 1926 "have not always been plain sailing for our two countries," Eduard Shevardnadze, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., said as he greeted the Uruguayan guest. "But in the arhythmic pulsation of our relations one can clearly dis-

MIDDLE EAST

By the Rule of Contraries

Prime Minister Shimon Peres of Israel probably stood to gain from his Morocco meeting with King Hassan: by all accounts the meeting helped Peres to strengthen the position of his Labour Party vis-à-vis its rival, the Likud bloc. Peres also intended to make an impression on the U.S. He succeeded in that: without waiting for the closure of the Rabat talks, American politicians and papers fanfared them as "a bold step," "a historic visit," and "a meeting which will decide the fate of peace in the Middle East." What they actually meant, though, was not peace in the true sense of the word but continued defeatist separate deals of the kind initiated by the notorious Camp David accords.

The Camp David process is known to have ground to a halt. What it brought its Egyptian initiator is also common knowledge. The "Reagan

cern a certain regularity: these relations were at their best when the political life of Uruguay itself was at its brightest. And now we are pleased to note that after the restoration of constitutional government in your country a promising new chapter has started in our relations."

In the course of the Moscow negotiations most significant pages were added to this chapter: a Soviet-Uruguayan protocol on consultations and an agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation. Furthermore, agreement was reached on the joint preparation and publication of a set of documents pertaining to Soviet-Uruguayan relations.

An exchange of views has revealed that the two sides see eye to eye on the basic contemporary issues. The Uruguayan side showed special interest in the complex of Soviet foreign policy initiatives put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in his statements. The Soviet side noted Uruguay's positive contribution, within the framework of the Contadora support group, for instance, towards settlement in Central America.

Uruguayan papers carried extensive comments on the progress and results of Iglesias' visit to the U.S.S.R. The newspaper Mañana pointed out that the difference in the two countries' political and economic systems was no obstacle to the development of relations between them on the basis of mutual understanding. The Hora expressed the hope that the visit would contribute to the broadening of two-way trade. As if to justify this hope, the Uruguayan trading firm Mitraco opened an office in the Soviet capital during Iglesias' visit. This is the first company to represent Uruguayan business circles in Moscow. ■

plan" for the Middle East, which was to have given a fresh impetus to the Camp David process, had to be shelved. But Washington has not lost hope of reanimating this plan. It was not for nothing that it sent as high-ranking a personality as Vice-President George Bush to the Middle East late last July. It looks as if the scene for the visit was set by the Israeli Premier whose trip to Rabat was clearly meant to show the Americans that they would be well-advised to rely on him rather than on the diehard Shamir.

However, all this is politicking rather than politics. From the standpoint of major politics, the Rabat meeting was an evident failure—a fact barely camouflaged in the official communiqué which described it as "being of a purely familiarizing character and not aimed at getting negotiations under way." Let's see what is behind this formula. According to press reports, the Israeli Premier declined to make any concessions either as regards troop withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories or on the Palestine issue. In other words, no progress on the key issues connected with a settlement in the Middle East is forthcoming. That was further evidence of Tel Aviv's opposition to such a settlement.

The futility of the separate deals policy has become more obvious. Even the mere mention of them causes a storm in the Arab world. Syria has severed relations with Morocco in protest at the Rabat meeting. The Washington Post commented on July 23 that many Arab governments joined in Syria's protest although without going to the length of breaking diplomatic relations. As a result of the protests in the Arab world, King Hassan resigned from the post of chairman of the Arab League.

Like a flash of lightning, the abortive meeting in Rabat threw into sharp relief the indisputable fact that breaking the deadlock in the Middle East entails honest and open policy, joint efforts by all those capable of contributing towards a genuine peace in that part of the world—rather than secret diplomacy and the attempts to speculate on inter-Arab differences and keep the Soviet Union away. According to L'Humanité, Prime Minister Peres' talks in Morocco have made it especially clear that "without weighty international guarantees, including those provided by the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict and the security of all the countries in the region, Israel included, are out of the question."

The Israeli Premier might well be reminded that the rule of contraries applies to politics as well as to mathematics. By his action he has convincingly confirmed the exact opposite of what he was out to prove.

D. VOLSKY

For aggrandizement: the new Lavi plane and Merkava tanks.

Reproduced from the National Geographic Magazine (U.S.A.) and Stern (F.R.G.)

LAOS—THAILAND

A Seat of Tension

In a letter to the U.N. Secretary-General, the government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic called the attention of the international community to the anti-Laotian campaign being unleashed in Thailand. The pretext for the campaign was provided by claims in Bangkok papers to the effect that Laotian army units had attacked population centres in Thailand. The anti-Laotian hysteria in Thailand, the letter points out, has the purpose of escalating tension in the relations between the two countries.

After the victory of the revolution and the proclamation of the L.P.D.R., the frontier between the two neighbouring states has often been a scene of conflict. This is the responsibility of Thailand, which has provoked incidents now in one, now in another border section. In June 1984, for instance, Thailand committed an open act of aggression against Laos in Saya Bury Province. The conflict has not yet been resolved. In its statement of June 6, 1986, the L.P.D.R. Ministry for Foreign Affairs pointed out that Thai troops still held a number of heights in Laotian territory, along the border, and that Laotian nationals were being detained in Thailand by force. The damage done by the aggression has not been compensated for. Thailand continues to smuggle saboteurs into Laos. Thai troops held exercises in areas adjacent to the Thailand-Laos border recently, with armed units of Laotian counterrevolutionaries taking part.

Seeking to normalize relations with Thailand in the spirit of good-neighbourliness, Vientiane has repeatedly suggested to Bangkok that all the outstanding issues be discussed and settled. In June 1985, the Laotian side suggested a meeting of the two countries' government delegations in Bangkok or Vientiane. Bangkok did not reply. Laos repeated its suggestion recently, but again to no avail.

On June 21, Prasong Soonsery, Secretary-General of Thailand's National Security Council, issued a statement for the press, accusing Laos of laying claim to 17 northeastern provinces of Thailand. Vientiane described this statement as absolute nonsense. It is common knowledge that the L.P.D.R. government has on more than one occasion officially declared its respect for the Laos-Thailand border as it appears on the maps agreed upon by France and Siam (Thailand) in 1904 and 1907. Moreover, the L.P.D.R. strictly observes the joint Laotian-Thailand statements of 1979 on resolving all problems that might arise by peaceful means.

In Thailand, however, there are still strong reactionary circles which, having linked themselves with imperialist forces, are hostile to the changes taking place in the countries of Indo-China. Today Washington regards these reactionary circles as its mainstay in Southeast Asia, and Thailand as a likely base for the American Rapid Deployment Force.

The tension engineered on the Thailand-Laos border by reactionary pro-imperialist elements in Bangkok's ruling quarters cannot but be a source of concern. It is having an adverse effect on the situation in Southeast Asia, preventing normalization, and hindering the search for ways of making the region a zone of peace and stability. The actions of the Thai reactionaries are clearly incompatible with the well-known peace initiatives put forward by the ASEAN countries and reaffirmed at a recent Manila conference of ASEAN foreign ministers.

Y. KUZMICHEV

VENEZUELA

When Justice Is Out

The terrorists who blew up a La Cubana de Aviacion airline plane have received various prison terms, wire services report from Caracas. On October 6, 1976, almost 10 years ago, in Port of Spain in Trinidad and Tobago two Venezuelans, Hernan Ricardo Losano and Freddy Lugo, boarded a Cuban airliner bound for Havana with a stopover in Barbados. Leaving a time bomb behind them, they disembarked in Barbados Ten minutes later the plane blew up, killing 73 passengers and the entire crew.

The terrorists, who included Cuban counterrevolutionaries Orlando Bosch and Luis Posada Carriles, were caught. However, it transpired at the outset of the judicial inquiry, that the CIA had been involved in this anti-Cuban act of terror.

The Caracas court found Losano and Lugo guilty and sentenced them to prison terms of twenty years each. Meanwhile, Orlando Bosch was acquitted. The judge maintained that he "did not have sufficient evidence to prove complicity." Yet, according to the Latin American news media, this Cuban counterrevolutionary ringleader has masterminded fifty murders as well as another 150 attempted assassinations.

The actual process of the trial was just as revealing. Originally, the CIA hirelings had been charged with premeditated murder, unlawful possession of weapons and forged documents, and encroachment upon national interests. Later the incontrovertible proof was "lost" within the endless corridors of the judiciary. Local prosecuting attorneys even attempted to reduce the full charge to "the faking of passports" and thus terminate the judicial inquiry. The army prosecutor had initially demanded 30-year prison terms for Bosch and his accomplices. Later, he did a complete turnabout and pressed for their acquittal.

The verdict fails altogether to mention Luis Posada Carriles, who was directly involved in the crime. He was "overlooked," as he had escaped from the high-security prison of San Juan de los Morros.

The country's progressives are appalled. MP Alonso Ojeda, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Venezuela, contended that the judicial verdict "gravely impaired Venezuelan justice and conflicted with the wishes of the majority who wanted to see the criminals severely punished." Indeed, wherever the CIA is implicated, true justice is out.

Washington is always lavish in its condemnation of acts of terrorism. Yet, would it not do better to use its authority to end terrorism, not merely condemn it? And, better still, stop masterminding it?

A. BARYSHEV

The economic crisis has not only bred political instability, but has also resulted in unusually difficult problems.

Not by Oil Alone

From Our Special Correspondent
YURI GUDKOV

After the prim, smart Swedish capital which seems as if its streets have always been of stone, Oslo looks like a city which has not yet taken final shape. This impression is increased by the noise and dust of buildings going up simultaneously on a small area in the central part of the city. The low, substantial buildings of the Storting (parliament), national theatre, university and royal palace stand aloof surrounded by green gardens. On the map of the city they form a sort of ensemble. The town hall—two tall, dark-red, brick parallelepiped towers with a cube between them is situated nearby. This structure has been listed as "doubtful" and does not fit in with the rather undistinguished modern-type buildings.

Although Oslo was founded 900 years ago, it is a young city. Late in the 19th century its population did not exceed 10,000. Today it is 450,000 and its inhabitants are developing the city area, which is considerable. With respect to area Oslo is one of Europe's biggest cities.

However, these external features do not reveal the peculiarities of the two neighbouring states situated in the same peninsula, states which until 1905 formed a single kingdom. These peculiarities are far more marked. They have produced a unique imprint both on the makeup of the two countries and on their economic activity.

Having crossed the frontier by the Stockholm-Oslo super-highway I tried to identify these distinctions. For instance, I saw that the road signs were no longer blue, but yellow. In contrast with Sweden, the farm houses were mainly white, and not red-brick structures. But before I was able to congratulate myself on my keen observation, I saw that these subtleties were of no importance whatever. The gentle smoothness of the Swedish highways was followed by serpentine roads running up and down steep slopes. When you enter upon a relatively straight stretch, you suddenly remember that this is the southern, most level and densely populated part of the country, its granary, so to say.

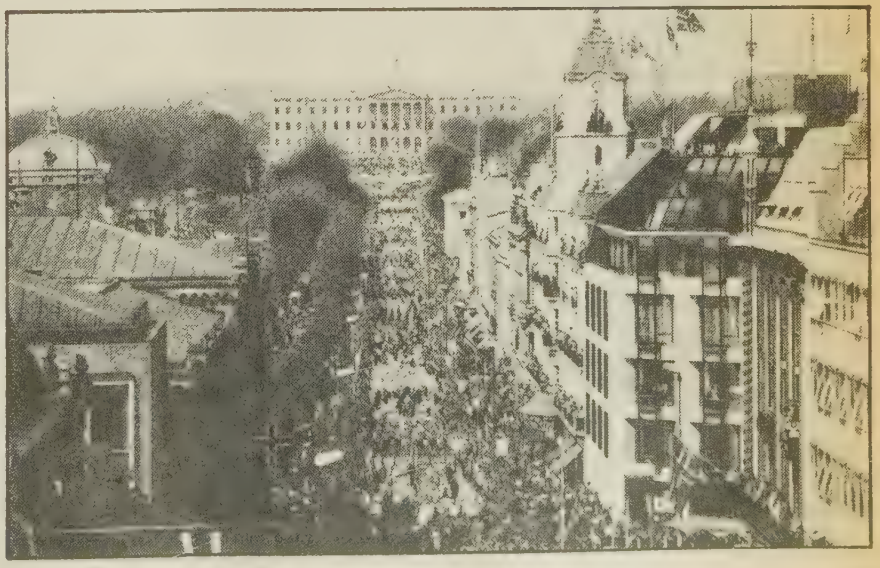
If you go west of Oslo, say to Rjukan, a small town known for its lake where the nazis obtained heavy water, you will pass through a series of valleys which are an exact copy of the landscape of central Russia with its silver birches, firs, bird cherry and apple trees. Having crossed them in an hour and a half or two hours you will start snaking along the mountain roads and crossing passes to find yourself surrounded by snow-capped peaks and icebound lakes. Luxuriant vegetation is replaced by dwarf arctic birches with tortuously twisted trunks, short-growth juniper, and lichen carpeting the stony ground. This is only the entrance to the mountain and lake country which accounts for two thirds of Norway's territory. In a way it is unique and incomparable.

Vicissitudes of Fortune

Point Bygdoy in the western part of Oslo covers an extensive area. It displays monuments to human prowess and superb seamanship, such as ships in which Vikings reached the New World five centuries before Columbus, the balsa raft Kon-Tiki and the papyrus boat Ra-II in which Thor Heyerdahl crossed the Pacific and the Atlantic in the 20th century. The famous Fram, in which Fridtjof Nansen and Roald Amundsen got closer to the North and South poles than any other explorers had done before them, is also here. The far less famous maritime museum is next door. But it deals with a sphere of activity that determined the character of the country as a shipbuilding and sea power.

Norway, with a population of only four million, has an extremely limited market. This has always made Norway dependent on foreign markets. As a result, shipbuilding, shipping, and the export of fish and timber have shaped an economy based on high specialization born out of age-old industries. The innumerable mountain rivers, being a source of cheap power, have determined the development of the electrochemical, electrometallurgical and manufacturing industries. Abundance of timber has made it possible to develop papermaking and the timber industries. Norway leads the world in per capita generation of electricity. Its electric power consumption is double that of the U.S. and more than three times greater than that of the F.R.G. No wonder it holds a leading place in the production of aluminium, one of the most power-intensive sectors. In the export of this metal it is second only to Canada. It is not surprising that Norway's electrometallurgical industry accounts for a quarter of the country's export. Generators and transformers

Central Oslo on a national holiday.



make up one third of its engineering products.

In would seem that in this little, well-adjusted community based on the well-thought-out and skilful use of local conditions and centuries-long experience there is only one unknown quantity, namely the behaviour of the world market. Regrettably, Norway's vulnerability makes itself painfully felt. Events taking place far beyond the borders of Norway now determine its economic and financial future. They call for decisions on which the country's well-being directly depends.

Several years ago the first powerful blow hit what seemed to be the most invulnerable element—shipbuilding and shipping. Not far from Oslo there is a town known as Holmestrand situated between a steep mountain wall and a broad stretch of water. Two gigantic tankers are moored near the shore. Among the numerous motor boats and craft that fill the harbours, large and small, they look like fossilized dinosaurs. This is just one of many ships' graveyards. The shipping crisis, particularly the one that has gripped international shipping, and extremely harsh competition have inflicted heavy losses on Norway, above all on its tanker fleet which accounts for a sizable share of the overall tonnage. Before 1979 ships were one of Norway's biggest exports. And now they have been forced into the background.

This was a startling warning about the vicissitudes of fortune caused by forces beyond one's control. However, fortune itself hastened to the rescue. It was in the 1970s that the country began to develop its oil and gas resources. The Norwegian continental shelf has proved to be a real hoard. With the oil demand and prices rising, it seemed then that the country was entering a "golden age."

Egil Helle, head of the information department, Ministry for Petroleum and Energy, gave the following account of the unexpected turn of events:

"The early 1970s were a difficult time for the whole of Western Europe. The prolonged slump in production was accompanied by a sharp rise in unemployment. We managed to escape the general fate. Petroleum promised high profits. This enabled us to secure credit from abroad for economic expansion, while others were tightening their belts. Thanks to petroleum our exports were far ahead of imports. We were building up large reserves of hard currency. This in turn gave us a free hand in economic policy, because we could choose our spheres of investment. At present oil and gas account for a fifth of the aggregate national product and a fifth of state revenues."

For the sake of comparison it would be appropriate to point out that in the case of the neighbouring Sweden petroleum and other energy-carriers account for 70 per cent of its imports. This is constantly fraught with the threat of a foreign trade deficits, despite its highly developed export industries. In the case of Norway, over the last three years the value of the petroleum and gas shipped abroad exceeded that of all the other exports.

The oil boom gave rise to the exaggerated expectations which were being excited by the generous promises of the political parties. Meanwhile economic expansion caused prices to soar rapidly. This in turn sparked off demands for higher wages. In Norway the rate of inflation considerably exceeded that of its trade partners. The accelerated production of its petroleum and gas was accompanied by actual stagnation in some of the other industries. A government report compiled last spring says:

"In the period from 1973 to 1977 Norway's competitive capacity dropped by 27 per cent. Industrial sectors that met with competition ceded some of their positions both on the foreign and home markets."

Grim Reality

The devaluation of the krone in 1979 slowed down this process. But in the 1980s it continued to unfold in the context of record inflation and a high level, for Norway, of unemployment. The same report says further:

"In the 1980s the developments resulted in relative unprofitability of industries and trade. This in turn made Norway more dependent on taxes and other revenues from oil and gas."

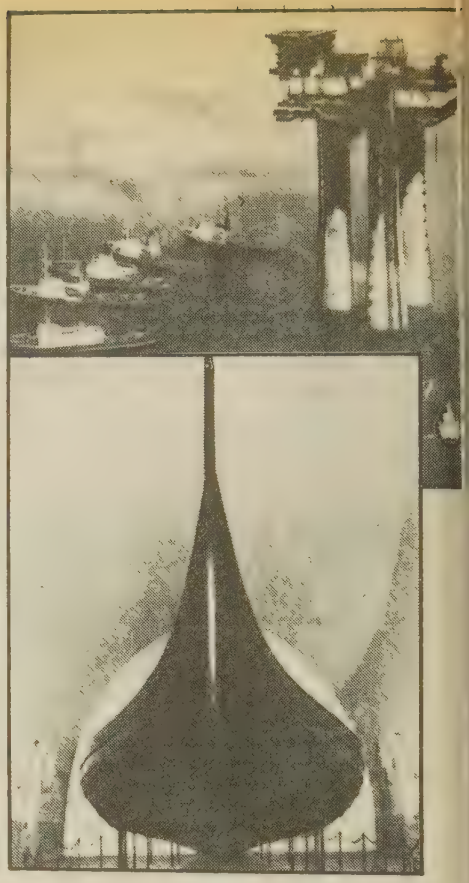
Suffice to say that today the output of the manufacturing industries does not exceed that of 1975.

While the oil prices were rising, it was possible somehow to compensate for the dire consequences of structural changes. The sharp drop in oil prices, which began in January 1986, has deprived Norway of these supports.

Egil Helle continued:

"According to a state budget estimate for 1986, the returns from oil will be 56 billion kroner. However, in the following year they may drop to 15 billion. This is already dramatic in itself. To give an insight into the role of 'petrokroner' I would like to mention that direct taxes—which are very high in Norway—bring in about 10 billion kroner a year. Compare this sum with the revenues from petroleum and gas and you will realize the size of these losses."

In addition, it is necessary to take account of the pernicious effect of the extremely low rate of exchange of the U.S. dollar. This means that the price of imports is decreasing, while that of exports is increasing, thereby further weakening the positions of Norway's industries geared to foreign markets.



The sea has featured prominently in Norwegian life since Viking times. This is even more so today when oil rigs are moored in its offshore waters.

In the first four months of 1986, exports shrank 21 per cent and imports expanded 18 per cent as compared with the corresponding period of 1985. In the first half of 1986 the foreign trade deficit reached 10 billion kroner.

The Norwegian papers are now writing about the hangover after the oil boom. P. Schreiner, director of the planning division of the Treasury, mentioned "the loss of a sense of reality because of the petroleum revenues."

He further said:

"The drop in prices occurred at a time when government expenditure had considerably increased, particularly because of subsidies to farmers, and outlays for pensions, education and medical services. Last year private consumption rose by eight per cent. As a result

we are faced with a demand that is not backed either by government or private incomes. Therefore, to cut down spending it will inevitably be necessary to tighten our belts. This in turn may increase unemployment."

The political sequel of the sharply deteriorated economic and financial situation was the resignation of the bourgeois coalition government formed after the Conservative Party's second (immediately following its first) victory in the 1985 elections. The minimal majority the coalition commanded in the Storting evaporated as soon as the government announced its first steps to limit demand. The Norwegian Constitution banning preterm elections, the Social Democrats had to form a government. In its comments the Financial Times of London wrote that the new Prime Minister could have hardly found a more difficult time at which to take over. The situation is complicated by the fact that the Norwegian Labour Party does not have a majority in the Storting. It will, therefore, have to pursue an unpopular policy of austerity by compromising with the opposition.

One of the urgent steps the Norwegian Labour Party took at its 51st hour in power was a 12 per cent devaluation of the krone. This means price cuts on exports and price increases on imports. The Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland said that the devaluation would help compensate for part of the losses from the drop in oil prices. Then she made an official statement on behalf of the government in the Storting. She said in particular:

"Norway is gripped by a most serious economic crisis. The country is faced with crucial problems stemming from dislocated foreign trade and a level of consumption we cannot maintain as a nation. In recent years these problems have been plaguing us increasingly, and the dramatic fall in oil prices has sharply aggravated them."

The austerity measures taken after the revision of the national budget for 1986 provide for a reduction of government expenditure, including military spending, and a rise in taxes to an overall sum of 3.5 billion kroner. To curb private demand the overall bank loan limit is to be cut by five billion kroner. Tax privileges are to be restricted. It is intended to announce a more far-reaching tax reform in the autumn.

Is there a chance that these measures win a majority in the Storting and the support of public opinion? Whether the Social Democrats remain in power or whether Norway will be forced to undergo changes of government all the way to 1989 (when general elections are to be held) depends on this. In this connection it would be appropriate to mention that the Conservative government had to resign after it announced relatively mild economy measures for a much smaller sum — namely 1.5 billion kroner. No wonder it is believed that the Conservative government willingly surrendered power to make the Social Democrats assume responsibility for the unpopular decisions.

I interviewed two Norwegian Labour Party Storting members.

Tom Toresen said:

"Perhaps this is so. The ultimate result may be that we shall carry out a thankless task making us unpopular, while the Conservatives will return to power under more favourable circumstances. However, on the other hand, the Labour Party's readiness to assume responsibility for the search for decisions and the implementation thereof may win it political capital."

Haakon Blankenborg added:

"What appears to be political suicide is actually a response to the coalition system. We need a government that is capable of coping with problems, especially in the sphere of the economy. Of course, we will have to take unpopular measures. However, on the other hand, one of the papers has referred to Norway as a tax paradise for big companies. Our country is bad for the poor and good for the rich. Public opinion polls have shown that the Labour Party enjoys greater confidence as far as economic and social policies and public health go."

Public opinion polls indeed reveal the growing popularity of the Social Democrats. According to the latest findings, it is rated at 42 per cent. The people I interviewed say this is due to the fact that the Conservatives proposed to cut government food subsidies and raise the tax on petrol. This would have inevitably shifted the burden of the "economy" onto the shoulders of the population. The present government has proposed to introduce a special two per cent income tax, plus a bigger tax on returns from the sales and purchases of shares, curbs on tax privileges and a limit on bank loans. These measures will above all affect the propertied sections. Cuts in government outlays for social programmes have not been mentioned. Despite this, this approach is considered to be "fairer." It therefore stands a better chance of winning public support.

Although the government has demanded "understanding" and "restraint" on the part of the trade unions, the strike movement is in full swing. And this refutes the above prediction. When I arrived in Oslo the schoolteachers were on strike. Newspaper and magazine staffs were vigorously preparing to strike. On the following day the municipal workers and office employees struck. Everybody was demanding higher wages because prices in Norway were becoming unassailable. It has been declared that the cost of living in Oslo is higher than in any other European capital. However, people were always saying that cuts in government outlays were wrecking education, social services and the public health system.

Kare Sandegren, a leader of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation, said:

"As far as strikes go, the situation may become very serious indeed. However, it should be remembered that the demands of the strikers are a response to the Conservative government's concessions to the propertied sections. This is the strikers' reaction to the conservative wave which has deepened social inequality. The Conservative government fell because its social base was too narrow. However, there are no guarantees that the Social Democratic government will survive. Everything depends on the decisions taken and on the way they are implemented."

Promotion of Détente

The Foreign Ministry officials I interviewed mentioned the continuity of Norway's foreign policy and loyalty to NATO's "dual course" — "on the one hand, reliable defence and, on the other, promotion of dialogue, détente and cooperation between East and West." However, they made it unequivocally clear that the latter part of the formula should not remain a mere wish. They said:

"We must seek decisions that would rule out the domination of military aspects." Therefore, Norway favoured "the establishment of a balance of forces through talks and not a buildup of arms," "a reduction of these forces to a minimally low level." It was opposed to an arms race "in spheres it has not yet been started in." Hence, it disagreed with the U.S. "star wars" programme and was ready to support any steps in pursuit of a total cessation of nuclear tests and to assist in the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. Together with four other NATO member countries Norway refused to give its consent to the manufacture of binary chemical weapons in the U.S. and their deployment in Norway. The Norwegian spokesman condemned Washington's intention to disregard the SALT-2 provisions. In an interview with Stavanger Aftenblad Foreign Minister Knut Tryden-lund criticized arms buildup policy. He said this meant relegating détente into the background and deepening differences between the NATO member countries.

* * *

One can easily see that the problems confronting Norway today cannot be regarded as easy or temporary ones. The situation has never been as acute as it is now, or the choice as urgent and, beyond doubt, as critical.

Oslo

"Cloudy with Sunny Intervals..."

NIKOLAI PORTUGALOV

"Cloudy with sunny intervals indicating gradual improvement," is a weathercast snippet one would like to draw upon to describe the relationship between the U.S.S.R. and the F.R.G. following the official visit that Deputy Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher paid to the U.S.S.R. recently.

As such the actual results of the visit and Herr Genscher's talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze are impressive. An intergovernment agreement for scientific and technological cooperation has been signed and the three ensuing specialized agreements on cooperation in farming, the health services and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy have been initialled. A joint protocol to set up consulates-general in Munich and Kiev has been also signed.

It would be worthwhile to recall in this connection that negotiation of the aforementioned agreement had dragged on for several years due to West German attempts to ignore the understanding reached concerning the representation of the appropriate West Berlin institutions in the specified fields of cooperation. This time the partners worked out a mutually acceptable compromise under which West Berlin representatives could participate in cooperation, in line with the spirit and letter of the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin, which stipulates that the city is not part of the F.R.G. and will not be governed by the F.R.G.

However, the significance of the West German Foreign Minister's visit is not restricted to these specific results, no matter how essential they may be. The communiqué on Mikhail Gorbachev's reception of Herr Genscher cites a most significant thesis formulated by the CPSU General Secretary during the conversation, to the effect that "in the situation that has developed in the world, in Europe and in bilateral relations between the F.R.G. and the U.S.S.R. this meeting, the Genscher visit, transcends the usual bounds." It is this crucial statement that determines the weight of the visit, its place in the policies of the two states and in the development of their bilateral relationship.

Not Only Pershings

More than once lately West German politicians, diplomats and journalists have asked us, and themselves too for that matter, the question which is so topical and of such concern to them. Why, they ask, does the Soviet Union, while pursuing a more active European policy, supposedly persist in "ignoring" the F.R.G.? Why, they ask, is it dismissing the F.R.G., although only recently Bonn, because of its weight and prestige in the Western system of alliances, enjoyed the reputation of being Moscow's "privileged" Western partner in the dialogue and in cooperation? Though the attitudes of the two sides to many key aspects of security are essentially different, if not at times radically opposed, the West Germans say, the complex of interstate relationships is not limited exclusively to security. Furthermore, such major West European powers as the U.K. and Italy have deployed U.S. intermediate-range missiles just as the F.R.G. did, while France has advocated their deployment in Europe. However, Moscow for some reason is angry with Bonn alone. Leading representatives of the ruling coalition noted that though this was Moscow's own affair, it was hard to conceive an active European policy on its part with Bonn relegated to the sidelines.

Now this last assertion would appear not to be devoid of a certain logic. After all, who was to prevent the Federal Republic drawing on the positive experience accumulated since the Moscow Treaty? Indeed, by dismissing a policy of stable progress in its relationship with the U.S.S.R., Bonn will never make any progress in the direction of those vital national objectives of its foreign policy, which the F.R.G.'s geographic situation determines. These include active participation in the Helsinki process, the promotion of a constructive dialogue and partnership with Europe's socialist countries, and, perhaps most importantly, reliable maintenance of security, whose level has tangibly dropped due to its notorious rearmament.

The U.S.S.R.-F.R.G. relations have developed on the basis of a treaty symbolically called the Moscow Treaty. Moscow is not to blame for the increasingly frequent serious setbacks in its development following the advent to power of the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition. Strict regard for the security interests of the two sides, as envisaged by the Moscow Treaty, is absolutely vital for consolidating our bilateral relationship. However, in recent years it has been hard to shake off the impression that the West Germans have begun to ignore that golden rule, and to a dangerous extent.

Now, though our relationship is not restricted to security, it is with such matters that it begins. The Pershing 2s in the F.R.G., the nucleus of that additional U.S. first-strike potential deployed in Europe, represent for the Soviet Union an immediate threat to its security emanating from German soil. If the West Germans dig up the past to cite sundry arguments supposedly compelling them to rearm, then we may legitimately ask why the ruling coalition is adhering to the same stance in this matter today, after the Soviet Union has said it is ready to dismantle all its intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

However, the matter goes much farther than Pershings alone. While paying lip service to a desire to maintain peace and security with the minimum conceivable quantity of weapons (indeed relevant to a West Germany saturated with armaments, both its own and those of others), Bonn is actually making unremitting military efforts which far exceed the needs of defence or, for that matter, the objective possibilities of a medium power. However, that is not the main danger. Since the present coalition government took office the F.R.G. has again become that "U.S. continental sword" on the 1950s model of the unhappily notorious cold war days. Only now it is much sharper and more dependable, obedient in the hand of its transatlantic wielder, who, relying on force, is prepared to swing it to assert full superiority over everyone.

A policy of this kind could not but affect the domestic situation in the

F.R.G., where we now hear louder and louder voices from men who have failed to draw lessons from forty years of postwar development, and have not abandoned notions of revising the results of the war in one way or another. The CDU/CSU's right-wing, which by analogy with the 1930s is dubbed the "Steel Helmet" faction, increasingly openly sets the tone for the F.R.G.'s foreign policy, imparting to it a sharp anti-Soviet character.

Further, when Bonn subscribed at state level to SDI, the Soviet Union legitimately wondered why it had done so. In this situation it is legitimate to assume that the growing West German military-industrial complex and its political emissaries hope, bypassing the nuclear stage, to elevate the F.R.G. with time to the level of a great military power. Noting further the circumstance that on cardinal disarmament issues the Bonn stance is a carbon copy of the completely negative U.S. attitude, one that for a long time ignored the Soviet peace bids, the ensuing stagnation in the U.S.S.R.-F.R.G. relationship comes as no surprise.

"Common Home"

Yet it would be wrong to overlook the important new tendencies in the Bonn position as regards the approach in principle to disarmament and the U.S.S.R.-F.R.G. relationship. These tendencies, as West Germans expound them, are mainly as follows:

Bonn has evidently understood that in its own interests its fidelity to allied commitments, which nobody questions, does not at all imply implicit subordination to the U.S. policy of full abandonment of disarmament and demolition of the last remaining obstacles to a runaway arms race across the board. The federal government has been firm enough in advocating observance of the limitations imposed by the SALT-1, SALT-2 and ABM treaties.

Next, the federal government has concluded that the recent Soviet initiatives in every area of disarmament deserve serious notice and that the West ought in its turn to put forward concrete initiatives, which, in conjunction with the Soviet proposals, would make for the long-expected breakthrough towards "a new phase in East-West détente." Bonn has stated that it plans to exploit its prestige and influence in the Western alliance to expedite progress towards this objective.

Moreover, the F.R.G. accepts the Soviet concept of "a common European home" and is interested in the continuation of the Helsinki process in all fields—political, military, economic and humanitarian. In the view of the federal government this should very shortly assume tangible expression in the results of the Stockholm conference, to which it intends to contribute. Bonn underlines the significance of the impending Vienna meeting of the countries participating in the all-European process.

Finally, the federal government's declared aim is a system of collective security for Europe and the world, the idea of which echoes the Soviet-proposed concept of comprehensive security in the modern interconnected world.

Time and again voices of authority in coalition circles—let alone the opposition parties—have been raised in favour of such a new approach on the part of the F.R.G. to problems of disarmament and to the entire range of issues associated with East-West relations, especially a return to détente. Federal President Richard von Weizsacker, a former CDU leader, has also come out with relevant pronouncements on the score. Today, as is maintained in Bonn, this is the official stance of the cabinet led by Chancellor Helmut Kohl, whose personal message was conveyed to Mikhail Gorbachev by Herr Genscher in Moscow. It should be noted that a noticeable role in promoting these ideas has been played by Deputy Chancellor Hans-Dietrich Genscher who has recently been striving to preserve and augment the Ostpolitik inheritance of the earlier Social-Liberal coalition, wherein for many years he occupied the office he holds today.

During his intensive preparations for his Moscow visit, Herr Genscher, whose industry is legendary, nevertheless found time to grant several extensive interviews in which he framed his concept of the new phase of the Ostpolitik. In one such interview he emphasized that "today nobody should seek superiority over the other side and nobody should strive to rearm the other side to death, which would only be an illusion." One can only agree with that. Equally farsighted is the minister's idea of preventing the technological partition of Europe, which he put forward after the Chernobyl accident.

At his final news conference, Herr Genscher observed that it would be premature to think of a change of direction in the U.S.S.R.-F.R.G. relationship, and that so far one could speak only of the new page now being turned. That is so. So far the above-mentioned elements of the new approach in West German policy are verbal. As Mikhail Gorbachev emphasized, they have yet to be put into practice. The inconsistency of West German policy remains, as what its leaders have said about a responsible assessment of the world today does not tally with its almost complete support for the bellicose line of the U.S. Administration.

Meeting to discuss the results of the talks, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo noted that, regrettably, the West German government's policy continued largely to be concerned with the past, and failed to measure up to the need for a new mode of thinking in this nuclear-space age.

The Soviet side makes no secret of noting that it considers far more logical and promising the programme of security and measures for disarmament which the opposition has tabled in the Bundestag and which, more specifically, envisages the pullout of U.S. intermediate-range missiles from the F.R.G. and the renunciation of SDI involvement. However, the firm Soviet policy of stable development in relations with the F.R.G., while taking the security interests of both sides into full account, is not based on opportunism. Hence the Soviet Union welcomes the positive changes which are beginning to be felt in the stance of its Bonn partners on disarmament, and is prepared to intensify cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the F.R.G. in every conceivable area. Should Bonn translate its declared intentions into concrete actions then, said Mikhail Gorbachev, "the F.R.G. will find in the person of the U.S.S.R. a reliable partner that will not be empty-handed."

That refers both to full consideration of the F.R.G.'s security interests and a discussion of new ways of interaction in the economic sphere, which at this current very promising stage in Soviet development must surely attract West German industry. The F.R.G. is our first Western partner to have a wealth of confidence and priceless experience in the Soviet market. The newly signed bilateral agreement on scientific and technological cooperation holds out good prospects for both sides. Deeper cooperation in the humanitarian field to which Bonn attaches great significance, is also possible.

While remaining, as behoves a political observer, fairly cautious in voicing optimism, it is to be hoped that a steady improvement in the weather will follow the first rays of sunshine in the U.S.S.R.-F.R.G. relationship.

If the F.R.G. accepts the "common European home" concept, it shares in the responsibility for the situation in Europe and could be instrumental in improving the international situation. What Bonn leaders say in favour of this process should be backed up by tangible practical moves, as this would benefit the F.R.G. itself and the entire range of East-West relations in Europe.

■

Three Generations of Friendship

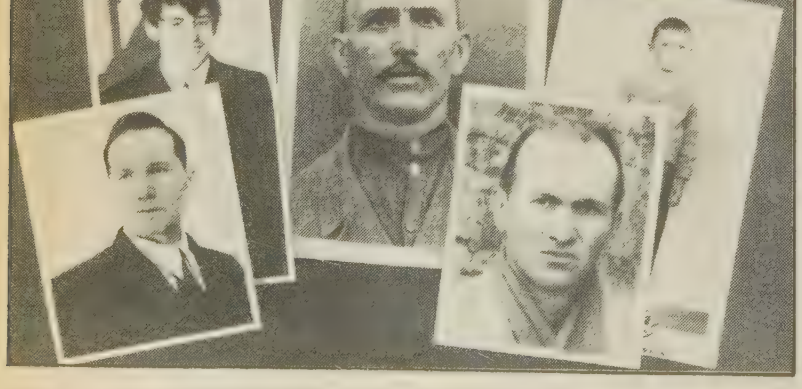
If human beings, as the writer put it, are "islands in the stream" they need firm links to get closer to one another. Today we tell you how two ordinary families, one Yugoslav and one Soviet, became acquainted and have been keeping up friendly relations for 70-odd years. We learned of their friendship from a letter from Gerasim Sorokin.

We got to know Petar Bitevic long ago, during the first world war. Bitevic, a Serb, and at the time an Austro-Hungarian subject, was taken prisoner and found himself in the small village of Klimovskoye in the Tula Gubernia in Russia, where our family lived. Those were grim days for us. My father had been killed in the war and my mother was left with six small children, of whom I, the eldest, was barely twelve. The village community decided to help families who had lost their breadwinners and assigned the POW Bitevic to us as a labourer. Despite the difference in age, we struck up a friendship at once. He was an ingenious, industrious fellow good at farming, who quickly got into the run of things and told me what to do. To this day I remember his advice. Very soon Bitevic became indispensable to the village generally, and not only to us. For one person he would hone an axe, for another mend a rake, for a third repair a cart. People would go to see him not only to ask for help, but also to feel the inner warmth with which Mother Nature had so generously endowed him. In short, when it was time for him to go, the entire village saw him off. I remember my mother bowing low in gratitude. But he said: "Don't thank me, it was my duty to help you, as this war has brought you so much grief and suffering. One must help one's brothers. After all, we Serbians and Russians are of the same Slav people!"

Bitevic went back home. As the years passed, I retained memories of my Serbian comrade, his stories about the war, and how upset he had been to fight not for a righteous cause but for the power of rich, property owners, like the Emperor Franz Joseph. I very much wanted to trace Bitevic. Luckily I remembered the name of the town in which he lived—Alibunar, and at random I wrote to him there. You can't imagine how amazed I was when I got a reply! My hands shook as I opened this precious message and read: "Dear Gerasim Andreyevich, I salute your family and in your person the entire Soviet people." And below the signature: Petar Bitevic. There was also a postscript by Petar's son Mile: "I know about you from what father told me and I would like to correspond with you."

We began to correspond. From Petar's letter I learned that Alibunar is a small town, which a Turk by the name of Ali had founded long ago when digging a well, a "bunar," on the site. I also learned that this town was one of the first in Yugoslavia to be liberated from the nazis by the Soviet Army and that to this day Yugoslavs cherish as sacred the memory of the Soviet soldiers who fell fighting for their country's freedom and independence.

Snaps from the photo album belonging to Gerasim Sorokin (far left) return us to the time when the two families renewed their friendship. Petar Bitevic (centre) and his son Mile (second right) are no longer alive. However, Sergei Sorokin (second left) and Petar Bitevic Jr. (far right) are carrying on the correspondence.



When my old friend died in 1962, first his widow Olga kept up the correspondence and then their son Mile. After the latter's death Petar's grandson, another Petar, continued to write. My grandson Seryozha also corresponds with him. Our friendship is 70-odd years old now. We regard the letters from our friends signed "Your loving Bitevics" not only as a token of sympathy for our own family, but also as respectful tribute to the entire Soviet people.

Gerasim SOROKIN,
Kashira, U.S.S.R.

Wondering how the people Gerasim Sorokin wrote about were faring, how the Bitevic family were doing nowadays, we asked Vladimir GRISHNY, our own correspondent in Yugoslavia, to call on them. He has sent the following story.

In a small town news travels quickly and while we were chatting at the local town council in Alibunar, Petar Bitevic, 25, a broad-shouldered lad and grandson of the Petar Bitevic who had been to Russia, joined us. He was eager to know what sort of news we had brought from Russia about their old friend, Uncle Gerasim, so affectionately known here as "cika Gerasim." Petar and I went to his home where I was given a cordial welcome by the rest of the family.

The Bitevics are smallholders who raise wheat, maize and other crops on the seven hectares of land that they own. They have a cow, several pigs and hens, in short, everything a farmer needs. Though they are smallholders, the Bitevics cannot conceive of life without cooperation with the communal sector, the local Zadruga, or cooperative, from which they get fertilizers, spare parts for machines, and the recommendations and advice of specialists. In turn, they sell part of their produce to the state through the cooperative.

"We are a family of five today," Petar's mother Slavka told us. "Naturally, the oldest, Petar, bears the brunt of the work. The other two boys, Dejan and Dragan, are still at school. However, they help a lot, especially Dejan. Petar finished a farming school in Vrsac, where he acquired the trade of mechanic. After his national service, he joined the local fire brigade, but all his spare time is taken up with farming."

This autumn the family will be celebrating an important event when Petar's fiancée Ljiljana returns to Alibunar after graduating from a higher school in educational sciences. For the wedding the couple would like to invite "cika Gerasim" whom they look upon as one of the family.

As we parted, Petar divulged his long cherished dream of seeing for himself the places where his grandfather had been and making the acquaintance of the family who for so many years remembered his grandfather and kept alive the precious flame of friendship.

the Common Sense?

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the efforts of the U.S.S.R. and its Warsaw Treaty allies, but exclusively by NATO, that militaristic bloc whose strategy the writer qualifies as that of "deterrence."

I must say, Herr Schmieder, that it is not NATO deterrence that makes peace campaigners in different countries fight the arms race for the escalation of which the U.S. is to blame. It is our firm conviction that neither Pershings nor SDI will save the world from nuclear catastrophe. The only sure way to preserve peace on earth is through the good will of men and women, who, by pooling their efforts, will do all in their power to get all weapons banned. After all, Herr Schmeider, you do say that "we should take care to preserve peace in the future." We must all indeed take care to do that!

Yuri FATENKO
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Make a Cat Laugh

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those abroad, to learn how the Letts see such "concern" on the part of the U.S. authorities. In the words of a Latvian saying they reply: "It's enough to make a cat laugh." Enclosed find the translation of a letter from Professor Jazep Broliss of the Riga Polytechnic Institute, featured in the Latvian newspaper Dzimtenes Bals (Voice of the Motherland) on June 26, which I think your readers will find of interest.

"I was born and spent my childhood in what was called 'free' Latvia. Never to the end of my days will I forget the poverty all around us. Was this because the Letts were lazy? No, they toiled from dawn till dusk, earning their bread by the sweat of their brow. Though my father and four older sisters were farm labourers and my mother slaved away, we made a very meagre livelihood. For the most part everyone around led the same kind of existence. We gladly welcomed the restoration of Soviet power in Latvia, as it not only gave us work and bread, but also took care that each nation developed independently. The war robbed us of our hopes. In his craving for world supremacy, Hitler dreamed of the laurel wreath of 'liberator' of the Baltic peoples. What did his 'liberation' give us Letts? Let my family provide an example. Six of my cousins were killed bravely fighting fascism, while another seven returned home maimed or wounded. I myself had to go into hiding in the forest, as Latvian teenagers were forced to build fortifications and trenches for the Wehrmacht and if you refused you were shot. One of the men to issue such orders is war criminal Makovskis, who now lives in the U.S. Wouldn't it be better if Washington were to take less care of sundry riff-raff who have betrayed their country and did not proceed on the basis of their advice and recommendations? After all, the Letts have chosen their own lot, which cannot be separated from the destinies of the whole Soviet people."

I. ROSENBERG
Jelgava, Latvian S.S.R.

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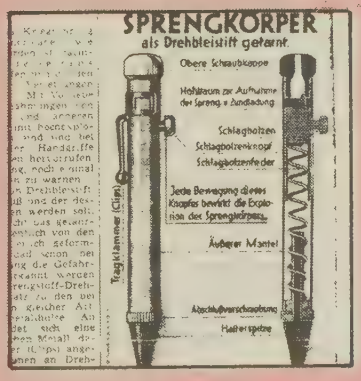


on Germany of camouflaged detonating devices was a fabrication of the national socialist authorities." The propaganda techniques of today's anti-Sovieteers are not that far removed from the methods of their nazi mentors.

Josef BEYER
Graz, Austria

Indebted

I was deeply moved to read, in your issue No. 21 for this year, the open letter from war veterans in Moscow's Kirov District to us in France.

I am 64. I lived through the war and the occupation of France. Those were terrible times. With many of my compatriots I was mobilized into the so-called "forced labour service," which the traitor Pétain organized to provide Hitler's factories with manpower. In Germany I was injured in an industrial accident after which I was given permission to go home to convalesce. Having returned to Paris in May 1944 I "forgot" to return to Magdeburg. I went into hiding with friends and subsequently fought on the barricades to liberate Paris in August 1944. I am writing all this not simply to give you my biographical particulars, but to explain that I know how much we owe to the Soviet Army, which saved the world from fascism. I will never forget the sacrifices made to win that victory and how many lives were sacrificed to fight the nazi monster!

For my part, I am doing all I can so that none of my compatriots ever forget our debt to you. I have brought up my son to recognize it. In conversations with colleagues I constantly emphasize that nazism would have never been defeated without the Soviet army.

Unfortunately, in France this truth is denied to this day, first by collaborationists of every hue and, later, by such new-style fascists as the supporters of Le Pen's National Front. However, facts are stubborn things. Nobody can ever denigrate or efface the exploits the Soviet people accomplished on their way to Berlin. Of that I am convinced!

Roger LESIEUR
Saint-Quentin, France

A Year of the Soviet Moratorium

Prof. TAIR TAIROV

Let us imagine the following scenario. The U.S. has announced a unilateral moratorium on all kinds of nuclear testing on the opportune day of August 6, 1985—the 40th anniversary of the U.S. atomic bombardment of Hiroshima. This would be a clever gesture of good will aimed at restoring Washington's shattered image in the eyes of millions of peace workers across the planet.

Moscow is sceptical at first about the news of the moratorium. It comes up with two arguments against the initiative. First, the Americans are acting from propaganda motives because they have already carried out a series of their own tests and the moratorium in no way reduces their aggressiveness. Second, the moratorium cannot be verified because the Pentagon is categorically against control and on-the-spot inspection.

It is easy to guess what the reaction of world public opinion to such "intractability" on the part of Moscow would be. There is no telling what forms its indignation would take—demonstrations, letters, telegrams or other attempts to talk the Soviet Union into meeting the Americans halfway. And, of course, our refusal to join the moratorium would have been used as a pretext to intimidate Americans.

Alas, in reality events have taken a different turn. Let me remind you of the circumstances under which the U.S.S.R.—not the U.S.—announced a moratorium on nuclear tests on July 29, 1985, and unilaterally put it into effect on August 6.

Petitions, Letters, Telegrams

The issue of stopping underground nuclear tests was discussed in 1963 when the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water was under negotiation. At that time the American side did not consent to banning underground tests. Since then banning them has remained a burning issue of disarmament. Dozens of new peace organizations and movements coming out against the nuclear threat were especially active in demanding that the U.S.S.R. and U.S. governments should end testing. In the summer of 1982, on the eve of the second session of the U.N. General Assembly on Disarmament, thousands of petitions poured in to the nuclear powers. The Soviet Union was ready to enter into negotiations at any time, to sign the appropriate agreement and to stop underground testing provided Washington did the same.

At the end of 1984 and early in 1985 Rear Admiral (Ret.) Gene La Rocque, Director of the Centre for Defence Information in Washington, along with many American pacifist organizations and unions, called on the leaders of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. to mark the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombardment of the Japanese cities by stopping underground nuclear tests. The address was signed by representatives of hundreds of international and national non-government organizations in dozens of countries: religious, women's and youth organizations, movements of businessmen, doctors, schoolteachers and other professionals demanding an end to the threat of nuclear war. Our country's public organizations have also joined this movement.

In April 1985 the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium issued a statement to the effect that the Soviet Union reaffirmed its readiness to end underground nuclear tests at any time if the United States followed suit. Washington kept silent.

Moscow remained the world's only hope. It will be remembered that in the spring of last year the leaders of the American movement for the freezing of nuclear weapons and representatives from peace movements in other countries called on the Soviet government to announce a unilateral moratorium.

"Suspend the testing for at least half a year," Daniel Ellsberg, the well-known American peace fighter, told me. "As a serviceman, I know that such a move will not affect your security. On the other hand, you will give the world an example and prove your sincerity. I am sure that the American people will bring tremendous pressure to bear on the government to follow the Soviet example."

A few months later our moratorium became a reality. The news was welcomed by millions of people in all continents, by heads of many states and governments and the leaders of political parties.

No "tremendous pressure" was brought to bear on the U.S. government, however. In September 1985 I met Daniel Ellsberg again in Geneva at an international conference on the problems of freezing nuclear weapons, the first to be convened in Europe. He told me that on the very day the news of the Soviet moratorium had come from Moscow, the bosses of all the leading American TV companies and newspapers were summoned to the White House. The Pentagon chief, the President's aids and retinue told them to publish no comment, launch no discussions and make no mention of the moratorium, justifying this demand with U.S. national interests. The brief news item which found its way into the press, somehow, had to be forgotten. The moratorium as such was to be pictured as a Soviet propaganda exercise. These instructions were complied with to the letter.

As the date of the moratorium's expiry—January 1, 1986—drew nearer, telegrams and letters started pouring in to Moscow again asking for the moratorium to be prolonged on the grounds that the five-month period was insufficient to pursuade Washington to follow the Soviet example.

We know: the Soviet moratorium was prolonged till March 31, 1986.

Later, in March, the leaders of six countries called on the U.S. and U.S.S.R. governments to refrain from underground nuclear tests until the next Soviet-American summit and to work out an agreement on banning the tests. The Soviet Union complied with this request, but the U.S. did not.

False Arguments

Since the Soviet moratorium was announced—and extended three times—

the U.S. mass media and official Washington have been trying hard to play down its importance. Some articles appearing in American papers discuss the banning of underground tests with academic detachment, as if it were a gesture of no practical use.

In an attempt to justify its policy of continued testing, the White House alleged initially that the U.S.S.R. had already completed its test series and the U.S. hadn't. Its second argument was that the Soviet moratorium was unverifiable because Moscow was against on-the-spot inspection. Both arguments were untenable. Many authoritative Western experts have repeatedly adduced statistics showing beyond doubt that the U.S. has the lead in the number of nuclear tests carried out. Therefore, by suspending its tests for almost a year now the U.S.S.R. has run certain—and quite substantial—risks for the sake of peace.

As for verification, it would be in place at this point to remind the reader of the conclusion arrived at by such an authoritative body as the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security which was headed by Olof Palme. At its January 1986 session it pointed to the prime "importance of an early agreement about a comprehensive nuclear test ban." "No technical obstacles now stand in the way of verifying such an agreement," the authors of the conclusion wrote. "It would contribute to the efforts to stem nuclear proliferation and put an end to the nuclear arms race."

There is now every opportunity for making the ideas of the Palme commission a reality. The Soviet Union has suggested on-the-spot inspection. The joint experiment now being conducted by Soviet and American scientists in Semipalatinsk shows that control is possible. It would seem that the last obstacles preventing the U.S. from joining the moratorium have been removed and that Washington is about to follow our example. Far from it. Since our moratorium took effect the Americans have carried out 15 nuclear tests.

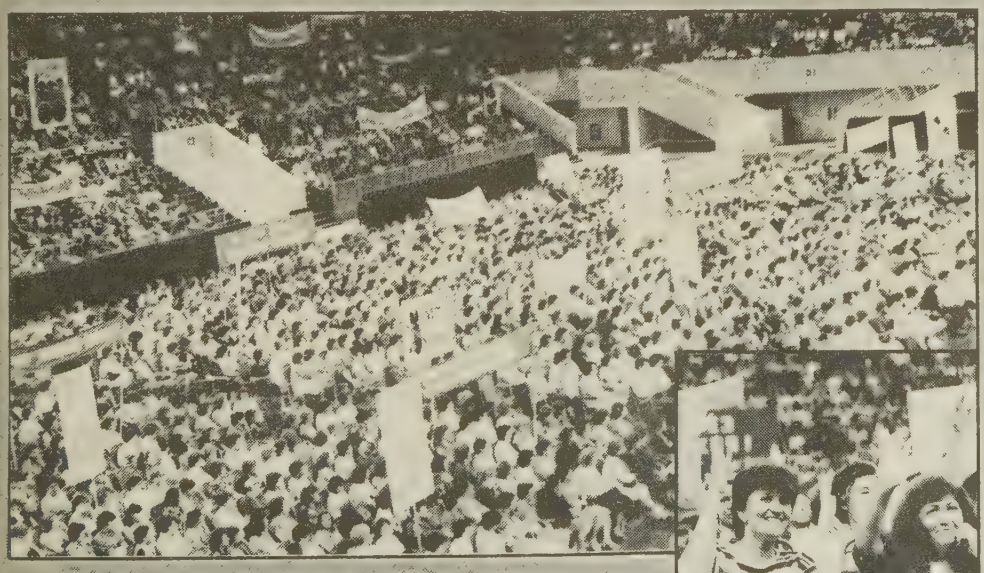
The two latest blasts carried out in Nevada last month were just about a week apart. All fifteen tests were conducted against the background of a snowballing campaign of the American public for a moratorium and an agreement on the complete and universal banning of nuclear weapon tests.

Official Washington arrogantly turns a deaf ear to these demands, and continues testing. Washington no longer conceals its real motives for refusing to ban nuclear tests: to improve Midgetman missiles, new weapons of mass destruction, X-ray lasers under the SDI programme, and neutron charges.

The West often says that disarmament must be a two-way street, that it takes two to tango. That's right. Millions of people are asking themselves today why Washington doesn't go its part of the way. Many public figures and peace campaigners in various countries point out that an American moratorium would be the first positive step, the first evidence of Washington being serious about placing nuclear weapons under control and moving towards disarmament. But no such step has been taken!

In a recent interview for the magazine Sanity Paul Johns, Chairman of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, a man who disapproves of many aspects of our way of life and policy, said: "I believe that the Soviet test moratorium should be treated as genuine, and it's hard to resist the conclusion that Western prevarication over testing, coupled with U.S. persistence with 'star wars,' indicates that the West just doesn't have real political commitment to arms control or disarmament."

Well, this judgement is correct. The termination of nuclear tests would be, as the Budapest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries put it, "an



"Our profound anxiety for the fate of peace has brought us together in this hall today. In this space age of ours each of us belongs to the crew of a single spaceship, the planet we live on. It is essential for every member of this crew to contribute so as to blot out for ever the threat of nuclear disaster." With these words, Valentina Tereshkova, Chairman of the Soviet Women's Committee, inaugurated the thousands-strong anti-war rally of Soviet women in Moscow on July 23.

Also present were prominent representatives of the international women's movement. As Mirjam Vire-Tuominen, General Secretary of the Women's International Democratic Federation noted, 136 women's organizations in 118 countries vehemently denounce the irresponsible and dangerous arms race and preparations for "star wars" on the part of the U.S. "We have launched a worldwide campaign of 'No to Star Wars!'," she said, "'Yes to Peace on Earth and in Space.'"

In a message to Mikhail Gorbachev, the rally expressed its full support for the peace-loving line of the CPSU and the Soviet state. It also exhorted President Reagan to end the arms race.

Photos by V. Galin

important and, at the same time, perfectly feasible step towards disarmament, an obstacle to the improvement of nuclear weapons and the development of new types thereof."

As he announced in May the third prolongation of the Soviet moratorium till August 6, 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "We again urge the United States to consider with utmost responsibility the degree of danger looming over mankind, to heed the opinion of the world community." Unfortunately, the White House is again feigning political deafness. It doesn't even stop short of a loss of prestige. After the spring tests in Nevada, the Washington Post commented that a loss of prestige in the eyes of the public both at home and abroad would not change Reagan's stance.

But the international community does not accept such stubborn disregard for its opinion with impunity. At one time, such disregard gave rise to anti-militarist feeling in many countries and caused, among other factors, vigorous anti-nuclear protests in Western Europe. The echo of these protests reached the American people, too. Official Washington explained them away by Moscow's attempts to inculcate anti-American sentiments in the Old World. By stubbornly rejecting the moratorium today, Washington is again providing a cause for a new wave of worldwide protest.

For a year the world has been looking to the other nuclear powers, especially the U.S., with expectations and hopes which, alas, have not so far been justified. In the meantime, the U.S.S.R. has come up with a truly historic initiative: a concrete programme for the stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons by the turn of the century.

The Soviet moratorium is now a year old. Although the Western mass media are boycotting it, many ordinary Americans know about our country's responsible position today. American legislators discuss the issue of joining the Soviet moratorium. The international Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War movement described the ending of nuclear tests as the most important objective of nuclear disarmament at the present time. At its June meeting in Lima, the Socialist International also called upon the rest of the nuclear powers to stop testing. The public in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America demand that nuclear tests be stopped and that the unique historic chance offered by the U.S.S.R. to the United States and the world should not be missed, but accepted with both hands. ■

● **EXCLUSIVE FOR NEW TIMES**

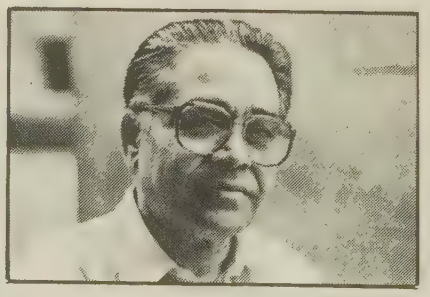
Let's Hope

Professor K.P. MISRA
Jawaharlal Nehru University, India

We are passing through an unprecedented crisis in human history. Today even our right to life is in serious danger. Since the second world war the arms buildup has continued at painful cost to world community. There are more wars. In a world spending annually nearly a thousand billion dollars on arms, one adult in three cannot read, one person in four is hungry. There is one soldier per 43 people in the world. On the other hand, there is only one physician per 1,030 people.

Priority should be given to nuclear disarmament to be started with ending nuclear tests. All who hold peace dear support the Soviet moratorium.

While discussing the current debate on disarmament the initiative taken by six countries (Argentina, India, Mexico, Greece, Tanzania and Sweden) from four continents merits special mention. To



begin with, a joint declaration was issued on May 22, 1984, in which it was hoped that the human beings would rise above the present divisions and create a world free from the shadow of nuclear war. It was a unique document since it was signed by leaders of different political views, though all of them were passionately interested in peace. The declaration called for an end to be put to both nuclear tests and the arms race.

It is instructive to note the reaction of nations to this appeal. Except for the Soviet Union, all other nuclear weapon states expressed negative opinions about it. The United States thought that the steps proposed in the joint declaration —comprehensive freeze for all nuclear powers, an end to nuclear testing— would not enhance stability or reduce the risk of war.

An important summit of the leaders of these six nations was held in New Delhi on January 28, 1985. The summit adopted the Delhi Declaration, which reiterated the earlier call for a comprehensive end to the testing, production, deployment and use of all kinds of nuclear arms. It also suggested the conclusion of a treaty banning nuclear tests in outer space as the two problems are interconnected.

The SDI or the "star wars" launched by the United States is posing a new threat to humankind. It is important for all of us, particularly Americans, to understand that SDI is an extremely dangerous proposition. Originally described as a population defence effective enough to permit the elimination of offensive nuclear weapons, it has lost some of its shine under close scientific scrutiny. Critics see it as a threat to security rather than as a protection. It is really a provocation that will stimulate the arms race and increase the chances of nuclear war. Then, SDI is only a limited shield. It is not a protection against low altitude bombers, surface-hugging cruise missiles, etc.

Insofar as India, and other countries of the non-aligned movement are concerned, they have stated their views on outer space very clearly. The outer space should be preserved exclusively for peaceful purposes and for the welfare and in the interest of all countries, irrespective of their level of economic, social and scientific developments. The non-aligned movement has appealed for immediate measures to be taken to avoid the spread of the arms race to outer space in order to preserve international peace and security.

The six nations' efforts have been appreciated all over the world. Neither the assassination of Indira Gandhi nor that of Olof Palme could terminate their lofty activity. The six nations are determined to continue their efforts in favour of nuclear disarmament. With a view to achieving this objective, the new summit is being scheduled in Latin America in August 1986.

The task for all those who are pleading for an end to the arms race and disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, is extremely difficult though should not be treated as impossible. Let us hope that this massive display of world public opinion will have some positive effect.

Delhi

Priority Concerns of the West German TUs

The Federation of German Trade Unions (FGTU) is the largest organization of working people in the F.R.G. The 17 branch trade unions that comprise it have between them a total of 3 million members. Below CHRISTIAN GÖTZ, a prominent public figure in the F.R.G. and member of the board of the union of trade, bank and insurance workers, describes the stand of the unions on problems relating to preserving peace and curbing the arms race, as well as their contribution to the consolidation of the anti-military movement.' He is interviewed below by our correspondent A. Tolpegin.

Q. A regular congress of the FGTU took place recently in Hamburg. What place did problems of peace and disarmament have at it?

A. They were very prominent. About 400 draft resolutions were submitted to the congress. Draft Number One was specifically concerned with problems of peace, disarmament and détente.

The resolution stresses that the F.R.G. has a special responsibility for the preservation of peace. First of all, our country is situated at the junction of two military and political blocs. Secondly, the tragic experience of the past imposes a great obligation upon us to contribute to the consolidation of security.

It is our belief that peace can no longer be maintained on the basis of 'the balance of fear." In practice this erroneous concept implies a continuous arms race. Peace can be secured only by joint effort.

The trade unions reject any policy aimed at achieving military superiority. Such a policy is being conducted at present, as everyone knows, by the United States. It runs counter to the idea of partnership in security problems.

The congress resolution also mentions concrete measures aimed at curbing the arms race and at disarmament. The FGTU has spoken out against the militarization of space, and in favour of the dismantling and destruction of all nuclear missiles, both tactical and medium-range, deployed in Europe or targeted on it.

Q. How do trade unions in the F.R.G. assess the peaceful initiatives of the socialist states, among them the programme for the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe?

A. The congress resolution states that the Soviet proposal to eliminate nuclear weapons by the end of the present millennium must become the subject of constructive negotiations. However, care should be taken lest the stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons be accompanied by an increase in the number of conventional weapons. We consider it necessary to reduce the number of both and welcome the programme suggested by the socialist states in Budapest because it corresponds to this idea.

Q. What concrete demands are the trade unions making on the federal government?

A. The principal position of the trade unions is as follows: our country's military policy must be strictly limited to defensive purposes. Any preparations of an aggressive character or which give others cause to consider them as such are inadmissible. The F.R.G. should give up the support of a policy aimed at achieving military supremacy. We demand that the government cancel the treaty with the U.S. concerning the F.R.G.'s participation in the SDI programme. Incidentally, participation in this programme would also be unfavourable to our country from an economic point of view.

The arms race consumes enormous resources which could be used for the satisfaction of social needs. We favour a freeze on the military budget. This would be only the first step which should be followed by other reductions.

Q. We often hear that the production of armaments supposedly helps to preserve jobs. Is that the case?

A. We believe that military production and the increase of the export of arms cannot be justified by the necessity to preserve jobs. Of course, the trade unions understand the misgivings of the workers at military enterprises. There are over 2 million unemployed in our country already. Having once lost one's job, it is no easy matter to find another one. However, jobs should be preserved in a different way. Enterprises should change over from military to peaceful production according to plan. The trade unions suggest that a special department dealing with problems of disarmament should be set up which would be entrusted with preparing for such a transformation.

Q. A strong peace movement exists in the F.R.G. What are the relations between the FGTU and this movement?

A. Various social groups and organizations come together in the broadly-based peace movement, and the trade unions play a no small role in it. To my mind, the main task is to lay greater stress on the link between anti-military actions and the struggle for employment and social justice.

Düsseldorf

APPOINTMENTS

Valentin Ivanovich DMITRIEV

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Ethiopia

Valentin Dmitriev, a Russian, was born on May 27, 1927, in the village of Tiny, Nizhny-Ingash District, Krasnoyarsk Territory. In 1955 he graduated from the Odessa Institute of Hydroengineering and in 1971 he completed his studies as an extramural student at the CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1947 and besides being an Alternate Member of the CPSU Central Committee and Deputy to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, he is also a Full Member of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party and a deputy to the Latvian S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

Between 1955 and 1959 he was employed in the Urals building organizations. Since 1959 he has served as a Party functionary, including terms as Secretary of the Kirov CPSU District Committee of Magnitogorsk in 1959-60, First Secretary of the Magnitogorsk City CPSU Committee from 1962 to 1970, First Secretary of the Chelyabinsk City CPSU Committee in 1970-79, a staff official of the CPSU Central Committee in 1979-80, and Second Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Latvia from 1980 to 1986.

Valentin Dmitriev has been awarded the Order of Lenin, the orders of the October Revolution, the Patriotic War, Second Class, and the Red Banner of Labour, as well as several medals.

Saving Every Ton and Hour

A decisive turn towards sweeping intensification. This is at the heart of the G.D.R.'s economic strategy. Whoever you talk to, be it a worker on the shop floor, a party functionary, a ministerial executive or a scientist, each will describe, in his own way, the salient features of this change in direction which envisages high growth rates in labour productivity, a steady reduction in per unit consumption of energy, raw and other materials, the manufacture of more and more new goods, and the resolute application of the most sophisticated technology.

No "Watering Can"

Even though he is G.D.R. Deputy Minister for Machine Tools and Instrument-Making Industry, Manfred Thalemann's place of work is not at all like a government office. The chief merit of this small room is the big window and the ample light. There is a small built-in bookcase for reference books and vital files. The desk is not piled high with papers, as is the case with many, who merely act the part of the busy manager.

He listened most attentively to the questions we put and gave methodically exhaustive answers to each. As we listened, we felt that we had before us a man who knew his onions. As a young man, he turned many a grinding wheel. He can read blueprints for the most intricate designs and electronic circuits straight off. He's quite at home when talking to turner, designer or economist.

. The Deputy Minister himself says he is of the generation that came to maturity with the republic. They rose to the ranks from the shop floor. The son of a mechanic, Manfred Thalemann learned the trade of turner in his teens. Subsequently, he was one of the first graduates of the Higher Technical School in Karl-Marx-Stadt.

He acquired executive maturity in the ten years spent as deputy chief manager of Berlin's October 7 Complex. This coincided with a period when the republic was reorganizing the outdated ministry-amalgamation-enterprise pattern into the new form of industrial administration, during which complexes were established. His eyes gleam when he speaks of that time, and this is understandable, as with other organizers he had to overcome the many difficulties of restructuring.

The complex unites everything that makes up a single whole from the point of view of the reproduction process. This includes R&D, technology, output, marketing and export. Among other things, it has its own line for producing the means of rationalization, which is vital for the more expeditious and effective application of the results of scientific and technological progress.

"Formerly," he says, "we followed a principle which we facetiously called the 'watering can.' At that time investment for development was apportioned equally or in shares in proportion to the size of the enterprise simultaneously to a plethora of small, average and large enterprises. Each had its own responsibilities and programmes, which as a rule it could never fully implement, as there was not enough money or material and it was not always possible to concentrate large numbers of scientists and engineers there. Although outwardly this allocation system seemed fair and just, it amounted to an inefficient dissipation of resources."

Now, instead of this "watering can," one powerful, purposeful jet is used. The director-general of a complex, which usually amalgamates from ten to fifteen enterprises, does not dissipate resources on trifles, but pools them to implement a more significant and effective programme. Even though these programmes may necessitate large one-off investments, the end result will be manifest not only in the production of sophisticated items, but also in the technological potential of all the enterprises in the complex.

The machine-building industry is steadily geared to the still higher automation of the equipment produced. Most indicative in this sense is the development at the October 7 Complex of a gear-grinding machine. For the first time it is equipped with an electronic drive, which obviates the need for the 100-odd cogs that would otherwise be used. The amount of metal consumed has thus been cut.

The massed application of innovative technologies serves to boost labour productivity drastically, greatly improve the entire system of production organization and expand the export potential of the complex. An energetic drive is being made to introduce new items. The complex's executives are obliged to see to it that the per unit consumption of materials for each new item is 20 to 40 per cent less. They must also reduce the work time spent on the product by 30-40 per cent and cut the per unit consumption of energy by 15-20 per cent.

"The complexes," Manfred Thalemann noted, "are successfully coping with these difficult requirements. The freshest appropriate instance is afforded by the work done at the Herbert Warnke Complex in Erfurt to fulfil orders from the Lenin Komsomol Autoworks in Moscow. It is building up an integrated system of forging and pressing equipment for the automated manufacture of whole motorcar bodies. This project required a considerable outlay on R&D, the organization of new jobs and the use of new materials. Had we been working under the old system of dissipating resources, none of the enterprises now in our complex would have been able to cope. However, this is now a reality."

In the 15 years that the complexes have been in existence much has been done to mould the workingman and improve social policy.

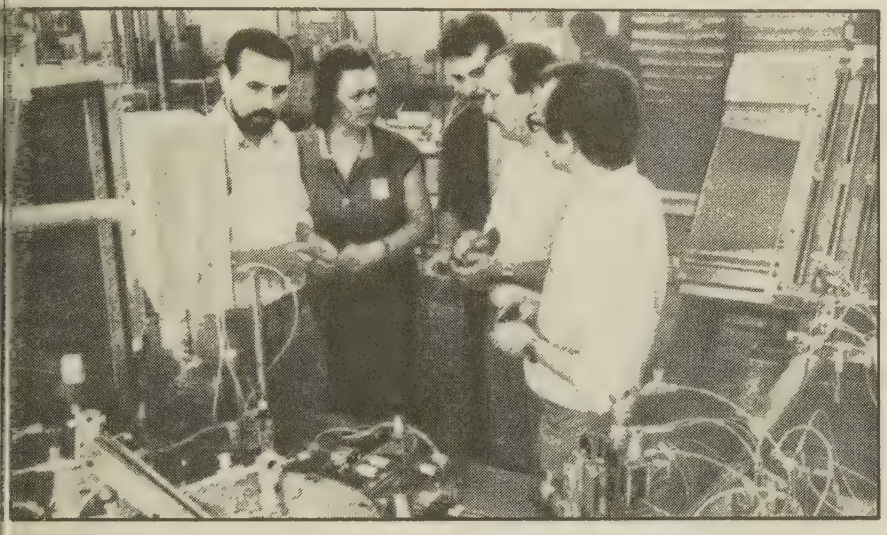
"I would say," the Deputy Minister continued, "that the time is now ripe for the productive implementation of Lenin's remarkable idea that socialism begins when everyone is concerned for each and every pood of grain, coal and iron. This holds good whether he operates a machine, oversees the work, or calculates the design of a flow line or flexible system."

The plan for the current economic year accentuates not only further increases in quantity. It also provides—which is possibly basic and most difficult—for the output of more items of

higher quality from basically the same amount of raw materials.

Impressive Zeros

There are different ways of impressing on people the need for a rational use of every minute on the job. There are striking posters which show how much a minute lost costs and how much could be made in these 60 seconds on the job at a factory, throughout the city and throughout the country. Special express bulletins are published to condemn shirkers, absentees, talkers, and those who always seem to be taking time off for a smoke. Finally, there are sundry managerial sanctions and in-



The Friedrich Ebert Electrical Equipment Complex in Berlin manufactures relays in some 100 modifications. This year it plans, without any additional resources, to make 650,000 items more than last year.

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junctions. But do they always produce the results desired? Unfortunately not.

Horst Pawlitzky, the Party Secretary at the Leipzig Machine-Building and Instrument-Making Plant, presented us with a relatively small sheet of paper filled in by that unbiassed, incorruptible "tally clerk," the electronic computer. This is a graph showing how work time is used in the instrument-making shop, which Pawlitzky himself headed only a few years ago.

The work time of all personnel is graphed for the entire year, month by month, in details which are not often taken into consideration. The number of hours that the shop should spend fulfilling the output target is calculated exactly. Provision is made for some amount of overtime. Not for purposes of rush work at the close of the month, but to compensate for some shortage of manpower. A mere 13 hours a month are assigned to remedy mistakes or, as the graph indicates, rectify adverse results.

"After all, human beings operate machines and it is human to err," Pawlitzky commented. "However, it is desirable to have this taken into account so that the section or shop does not have to speed up."

In the monthly graph we were shown, 18 hours instead of the planned 13 had been expended to make up for error and spoilage. This means that five hours will have to be compensated for in the month to come.

The graph has lines which make the shop management, public organizations and, of course, each individual employee, particularly proud. These are the expressive zeros that the computer has printed out for absenteeism. The educational effort, publicity and openness, and simply every worker's concern to have a good reputation have resulted in the shop ridding itself long ago of such a shameful phenomenon as absenteeism. There is one more line of zeros: in the graph dealing with delays, for which the plan allots not a single minute. In this case, however, publicity and openness alone are not enough. It is essential to plan precisely the job load for each worker, organize supplies of tools and materials properly, and rationally equip the workplace.

Could this instrument-making factory be unique? And is it so important to make every hour count?

"There is nothing extra special in the shop's practices," Horst Pawlitzky said. "By making proper use of work time we obtain in the case of each plant, complex, or the republic as a whole, vast reserves for boosting labour productivity. G.D.R. industry currently employs 3.2 million workers. Now if labour productivity had stayed at the 1955 level it would have had to employ 17 million. No wonder that in this current year of 1986, the year of the Eleventh Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the nation has set the goal of saving more than 500 million hours of work time."

Both Gain

Though cooperation in the field of science and technology and the economy between the U.S.S.R. and the G.D.R. is already of long standing, practice suggests more and more new forms for such cooperation, more specifically direct production cooperation at enterprise level.

The Moscow Krasny Proletariy Plant and the Berlin October 7 Complex manufacture robots with similar functions. To manufacture one such robot Moscow workers spend much less time than their Berlin counterparts do. They also use only 78 kg of metal on the lifts instead of the 158 kg the Germans use. On the other hand, the Berliners use much less metal than the Muscovites do to manufacture the swivel unit and manipulator activating device.

The Ammendorf plant produces long-distance railway passenger coaches of the same type as are made in Kalinin in the U.S.S.R. However, the Soviet plant uses only 12.3 tons of metal on the body whereas the Ammendorf plant expends 13.6 tons or nearly 10 per cent more. On the other hand the work time spent per coach is 8 per cent less than in Kalinin.

The 60-watt incandescent lamp is a very common item and vast quantities are produced at the respective plants in Berlin and Brest in the U.S.S.R. However, the Berlin plant husbands far more of the ten different types of source material per 1,000 bulbs, whereas the Soviet plant makes thriftier use of other types of materials, such as solder, argon, and some others.

Comparison of outlay of labour, materials and energy in the manufacture of similar types of item in our two countries is an effective way of intensifying production and expediting scientific and technological progress. After all, as a rule, years of experience account for the technological and economic performance reached in the case of each item produced.

"Now after this comparison," Karl-Heinz Richter, sector chief at the G.D.R. State Planning Committee, observed, "the managerial executives, engineers and technicians of enterprises have new options for further improving production."

Indeed, both stand to gain.

L. YELISEYEV and B. PISHCHIK
Our Special Correspondents

A New Frontier

Our Special Correspondent
VICTOR TSOPPI

Everything was exactly as Jorge Amado had described it:

"Morning begins slowly. Lazy Dawn stretches and opens its drowsy eyes with difficulty. It looks at the earth and is in no hurry to enter upon its duties. At last, yawning from time to time, it starts moving slowly along the horizon and puts out the stars with a kiss... Then Dawn wakes up the Sun...."

The Sun, which has had a rest while the blue stars were on duty, awakens the city which cannot be compared with anything else in the world.

Brasilia, an enormous city born of the genius of architect Oscar Niemeyer, dared to become the new capital of a great country which has an extremely important calling and mighty future. Its fantastically bold planning, the harmony of the buildings, lawns and thoroughfares that know no traffic jams even at rush hours strike one's imagination. There are many reservoirs, bridges and clusters of marvellous trees.

The inhabitants of Brasilia complain good-naturedly that it is a city of the future whose present is in the past. Others object, saying it is not in the past, but in Rio. This resembles the words of the poet who, in a country on the other side of the world, said:

"Beside this youthful rival drooping,
Old Moscow fades and is outshone,
A dowager in purple stooping
'Fore her who now ascends
the throne."

Brazil's younger capital, which is not yet thirty years of age, has imperiously seized from Rio de Janeiro the functions of the political centre of the state. However, the wonderful city situated on the Atlantic coast has not lost any of its splendour; it has neither fallen into decay, nor lost the love of its inhabitants. Many people working in the new capital, mostly government employees, go off to Rio for the weekend to relax, remove their stiff collars and neckties, walk amidst the crowds on the embankments inhaling the spicy tropical smells and engage in a trial of strength with the tide on the sunny beaches of Copacabana.

My trip started with Brasilia. It was a short trip lasting only two weeks and it passed in a flash. I had only a cursory impression of the country which has promised itself to become a great power by the end of the present millennium. And it has every ground for that, while we have various motives for developing political dialogue with Brazil and widening our economic relations and cultural contacts, which are sure to enrich both our countries.

Siberia and Amazonia

It was the middle of March. Only a few days had passed after the CPSU's 27th Congress which had outlined revolutionary prospects in all the spheres of Soviet life. What did Brazilians think about it? I had a chance to see for myself that even in faraway Brazil this event evoked a great response, and often instead of interviewing I was interviewed myself. My companions asked me a great many questions about our plans, our innovatory undertakings and the "new Soviet frontier." "A new frontier" is an idea that is popular in Brazil and is used when speaking of the development of new parts of the country, the creation of new branches of industry and new scientific trends.

An open brochure containing the text of the political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress lay on the desk of the chairman of the federal Senate. It bore some pencil marks.

"Brazil does not live in isolation," said José Fragelli. "It is not enough to understand the complex world that surrounds us. One must be abreast of the urgent demands of the age and take a position of responsibility. This among other things, obliges us to impart a new scope to Brazil-Soviet relations. I watched the work of the Moscow congress from the fragmentary and incomplete pieces of information published by our press. But, nevertheless, I understood that this was an event of major importance not only for your country, but for the world. At present I am carefully reading through the text of the political report and am convinced that the Soviet Union has entered upon a historically new stage. The bold posing of problems connected with the reorganization of planning and production, new prospects for the development of the agrarian, industrial and scientific sectors certainly produce a profound impression. Your plans are conceived on the grand scale, but at the same time they are quite realistic and well grounded. I can judge from the strongly self-critical approach to the matter. You are not afraid to see things as they are and strive to overcome the inertia of stagnation. And this with all the world looking at you, including Brazil, though we live not only in another hemisphere, but under a different political system.

"There are many kinds of systems," continued José Fragelli, "but the main thing at present is to understand the community of the destinies of all countries and nations. We consider the Soviet plan to relieve mankind of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 particularly important. I have drawn my attention to the fact that it has been received positively by many thinking people in the United States as well, while we, here in Brazil, have found double advantage in it. In the first instance, it is of course a real guarantee against nuclear death and, secondly, it offers an opportunity to solve many problems that arise in the developing countries, including ours, which in one way or another, and most often against their will, participate in financing the arms race. However, we need this money very much for peaceful construction and for dealing with such serious social problems as poverty, disease and illiteracy.

"At the same time," continued my companion, "Brazil has reached quite a high standard of industrial development. That is why, when reading the economic section of the political report, one understands that along with all the difference in economic structures our countries have much in common, things that resemble and complement one another. Your Siberia is a land of ice and snow, while our Amazonia is a territory which abounds in water, rapa-

cious rain forests and scorching sun. It is as difficult to develop Amazonia as it is to pioneer Siberia. So why shouldn't we share our experience? One must search more actively for, and find, ways of expanding trade, economic, cultural and scientific relations.

"It is my firm belief that ideological differences do not imply a negative attitude towards each other. In addition, Brazil has done away with the idea of biassed anti-communism which determined its foreign policy for the last 20 years when the country was ruled by the military. We are striving to overcome a unilateral orientation towards a Western economy. This is not a simple matter. Nevertheless, Brazil must choose its own path of development, and a good relationship with the Soviet Union will prove very beneficial on this way."

A Giant Whose Life Is Very Hard

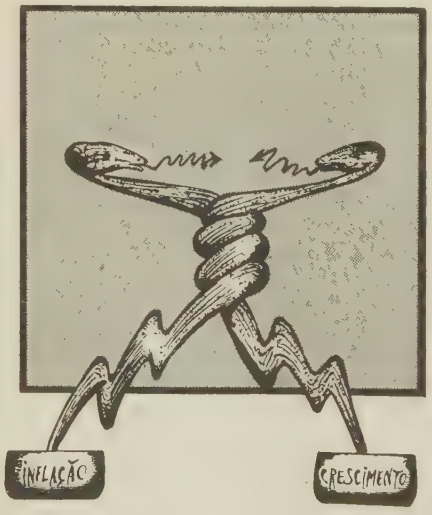
There is a false dilemma, the subject of fruitless disputes between geopoliticians: whether to consider Brazil a developing state or a developed capitalist one. The country is progressing rapidly and beating many records in economic development. Last year the increment of its gross output amounted to nearly 8.5 per cent, thus placing it first in the capitalist world. Brazil holds eighth place in the capitalist world for the gross volume of industrial production, i.e., has caught up with the leading countries, which include the U.S., the F.R.G., France, Britain, Canada, Japan and Italy. This is the group of countries that strives to monopolize the function of a global political directorate of the non-socialist world.

At present Brazil is the tenth producer of automobiles in the West, 96 per cent of which run on alcohol obtained from sugar (the country has little oil of its own, while imported oil is very expensive). With every year Brazil increases its arms exports—tanks, aircraft, missiles, armoured personnel carriers and reactive systems of volley fire. This branch of foreign trade brings into the treasury $2.5 billion a year, only a little less than the profit from the sale of such colonial goods as coffee and sugar. During a short period of time Brazil has moved to one of the first places in the world in the production of computers and informatics technology.

Angra-1, the first atomic power station situated near Rio de Janeiro, has been put into operation already, while the construction of two other stations is under way. The rapid development of enormous mineral deposits is in progress and is resulting in the building of new plants, railways, seaports, cities and agricultural complexes.

In a word, Brazil is a giant country indeed. However, its life is hard. Economic achievements in some fields are accompanied by poor indices in others. Thus, the country entered the year 1986 with a record foreign debt of $106 billion. During the two decades of military rule it has increased 20-fold!

Many of Brazil's present misfortunes are a result of the attempt on the part of the U.S. to model the country's development on the postulates of Milton Friedman's Chicago school of economics. All the necessary conditions had been created in Brazil for the success of the experiment, which lasted 20 years. The country was ruled by the military trained in the U.S. The character and trends of economic activity were determined by transnational corporations with the U.S. at the head and with the participation of F.R.G., French, British and Japanese monopolies. The International Monetary Fund supervises their activities by proxy. As everyone knows, this fund takes no interest in people's vital needs and dictates rules of behaviour to any state that turns to it for a loan. The fund is characterized



The "peaceful coexistence" of economic growth and inflation in Brazil.

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by want of compassion for the poor, a minimum of social programmes, unconditional priority of the private sector, the uncontrolled import of private capital and an unlimited export of profits. Ronald Reagan preached to the underdeveloped countries to deregulate, liberalize and everything and all would be well. And the military regime indeed acted in accordance with these injunctions to its own profit and to the profit of the transnational corporations.

Many indicators of the socio-economic situation inherited from the military regime cannot in any way be called positive. Thirty-one million Brazilians earn less than a living wage. Fifty per cent of the population receive only three per cent of the national income. The privileged part of the population, which amounts to some 10 per cent, receive 51 per cent. Landowners, who form one per cent, possess nearly half the cultivated land. This suited the International Monetary Fund perfectly well, but not the Brazilians who decipher the FMI (the Portuguese name of the Fund) as starvation, poverty and inflation.

When the military dictatorship ceased to exist last March, it meant that from then on Brazilians were no longer prepared to tolerate these disasters.

Notes on a Fresh Page

The first steps of the new republic towards a new frontier were accompanied by dramatic circumstances. Tancredo Neves, who was elected President in January 1985 (he was the first civilian president for twenty years), enjoyed great respect among wide strata of the population. His plans and projects for the economic and social development of the country had been dictated by democratic convictions, a striving to set Brazil on its feet and release its gigantic human potential and inexhaustible natural resources for a truly independent development of the country. However, Tancredo Neves died without even having taken oath.

According to the law, Vice-President José Sarney became the head of state.

When José Sarney became president 250,000 workers at the metallurgical and metalworking industries in São Paulo went on strike. The French weekly L'Express wrote at that troubled time: "A fresh page. Tancredo Neves had been faced by a gigantic task which he did not even start to cope with. Will those he leaves behind be able to carry it out in his place? Or perhaps after the sacred unity, cemented by mourning and decorum at the graveside, is forgotten, after the tears have dried, they will place themselves at the mercy of the demons of political rivalry and tear to pieces the heritage of a man who succeeded in giving Brazil only a trace of hope?"

At the time many people in the West believed that the hope for the restoration of democracy in Brazil and the development of an independent policy would die with Tancredo Neves.

However, these people had miscalculated. Neves's heritage became a guide to action for José Sarney and his government. The fresh page began to be covered with very important notes. For the first time Brazil said a definite "No" to the dictates of the International Monetary Fund.

No traffic jams in Brasilia.

TASS photo

In October 1985 José Sarney said: "Brazil has a democratic government which is going to sign only practicable agreements.... During negotiations with the International Monetary Fund and the consortium of creditor banks we shall not make any concessions on points of primary importance. The major point is to preserve the object of providing a 5 per cent increment in the economy. In these latitudes one cannot speak of a zero increment [as the IMF required. — **V.T.**], particularly of a further reduction of allocations for medical aid, education and the development of northern and eastern states which have suffered from drought, or of reduction of allocations for agrarian reform. Do we really have a right to speak of 'austere economy,' of the slump which will continue for several years more, of the 13 million unemployed and 31 million working people who receive a wage on which it is impossible to live? During the last 30 years the rich in Brazil have become even richer, and the poor—poorer.... We must start an offensive on poverty and prevent millions of Brazilians from dying of starvation or lack of medical aid."

The dictate of socio-economic priorities began to prevail over the dictate of the IMF. However, Brazil still remains a community of contrasts. These contrasts cannot exist side-by-side and become "confederates." Neither can they avoid being aware of each other. A couple of steps away from the precincts of Brasilia with its crystal air-conditioned palaces there have long been shantytowns, an accumulation of shacks made of tin and plywood, without any water or electricity. In the centre of the capital I saw naked children who had just learned to walk stretching out their little hands for alms. They toddled on bow legs affected by rickets close to a splendid shopping centre with numerous shops, large and small, where one can buy anything that a fat purse can afford. The centre also includes bars, restaurants and cinemas. Some of the people coming out of them threw small change to the kids. There was a scuffle at once, and the winner toddled off with his gains to his haggard mother sitting on a rag spread out on the sidewalk. She would rise and take a few steps towards a big pot in which a tiny wrinkled old man was cooking corncobs. A feast would begin....

The Crusado

On the night of February 28 President José Sarney signed a decree which was to change many things.

"The plan for economic stabilization declared by the President's decree was dictated by extremely difficult conditions inherited from the military regime," said José Frederico Alvares, head of the foreign trade department of the Ministry of Finance, in a talk with me. "In the first instance, it was necessary to stabilize the currency which had experienced enormous pressure and had been greatly compromised both within the country and on foreign markets. The unsteady parity of the cruzeiro in relation to the dollar resulted in speculation on an extremely wide scale. This was a symptom of serious economic illness, as money was not turning into productive and profitable investments and this made our economy even more vulnerable and weak. Inflation increased rapidly. The real wages of the working people were dropping steadily. The government was obliged to increase them every three months."

"What changes has the President's decree brought about?"

"Instead of the depreciated cruzeiro we introduced the crusado, a new monetary unit equivalent to 1,000 cruzeiro."

"For the sake of convenience, so as not to operate with figures with lots of zeros?"

"For this purpose, too, but this is only a formal reason. The main one is that we fixed a firm parity of our new currency unit in relation to the dollar. This limited inflation at once, bringing it actually to nill."

"But this wasn't the only measure, was it?"

"No. The decision to freeze the prices of goods and services along with wage freezing has probably been of greater importance."

"Some observers in Western Europe, for instance, called these measures shock therapy, while some even named them an anti-democratic resolution."

"This is quite wrong. By curbing the rapid increase of prices and inflation, the decree ensured the growth of the population's solvency, while all the talk about the anti-democratic character of these measures is ridiculous. As soon as the suddenness passed, it became clear that the reform severely, painfully and deservedly attacked the profiteers. At the same time, it offered a temporary respite to those who work for a living. But the most important and basically new thing in economic practice is, to my mind, the opportunity offered to the broad mass of buyers from the working people to control the situation in the market."

"I have seen people in the shops holding tables of prices established by the decree and comparing them with the prices written by the tradesmen on the labels. What does this rather complicated new system of buying and selling result in?"

"It results in something very important. Each Brazilian has been told that as soon as he discovers an arbitrary increase in price he must inform the financial bodies about it, or simpler still — tell the nearest policeman who, in his turn, has a right and considers it his duty to call the offender to financial account or even institute criminal proceedings against him."

"And does this work?"

"Yes, very effectively indeed. The consumer controls, while the state serves as an arbitrator. Several thousand trading establishments have already been fined, while many, including foreign ones, have simply been closed down and their cases brought before the law."

In boxing slang crusado means "hook." The reform of March 1, 1986, proved a very severe "hook in the side" for many foreign firms who profited uncontrolled from inflation.

Actually, the bold step taken by José Sarney's government turned out to be a blow against the system of imperialist enslavement of Brazil. A programme of economic sanitation with great prospects for the future has been put into practice. When working out this programme Brazil managed, without the help of the IMF, this importunate agent of international capital, to achieve mutual understandings with a number of private banks and get a deferment of its debt. Intensive economic development has been moved to the fore. If this had not happened, the Brazilian economy would still be working to pay the debt, while the solution of complex national problems would have been put off indefinitely.

(To be concluded)

Security for the Europeans, Security for Everyone

European détente, Soviet-American relations and other current international issues were the subject of a recent discussion in the popular Studio Nine programme on Soviet television. The broadcast evoked a widespread interest. Below we continue our transcript of the discussion led by TV commentator Valentin ZORIN, the first half of which appeared in the previous issue.

ARBATOV: We in the Soviet Union certainly realize that we are not all-powerful. We have no great-power designs and generally seem to have good understanding. This follows from everything we do, especially from what we have done lately, as has been made explicitly clear, from our entire concept, recently elaborated, the concept of security. I'm invoking the documents adopted by our Party congress, and would like to comment on what David has said.

Now from our point of view, what are we talking about here? We are talking about the effort to overcome the old mode of thinking. As you see, now and again, one may view regions across the border—which is quite natural as every country views them so—as particularly sensitive areas precisely for security considerations, and this is especially true of a country that has suffered so much and that has seen its security threatened so often. However, the more we advance towards security for all, the less fear there will be of danger, and the less the role such considerations will play. But what is going on in America, what Egon mentioned, that unilateralism, which I don't even know how to translate into Russian, is rather an appropriation of the right to act on one's own in the international arena, to proceed exclusively from one's own interests and one's conception of one's own interests, while ignoring the interests of others. In America that is assuming a different character. So far this has been done rather gingerly, in a cowardly manner, I would even say. While the targets were countries where America was not threatened with sacrifice of more than a few dozen lives, such as Grenada, Libya and Nicaragua, and where, generally speaking, mercenaries are used.

FALIN: In Lebanon....

ARBATOV: But further on.... in Lebanon we had an example when the Americans pulled out at once when 200-odd Marines were killed. Because the Vietnam syndrome is still taking effect, Americans still fear it, remember it and don't want a repetition of it. However, I now see something developing that worries me and, as I understand, worries you too. This is that what began as a selective doctrine for three or four objects and is now assuming a doctrinal, conceptual form as a general platform for a policy towards the whole world. This implies that you can act as you please, do anything you think is in your own interests and not take others into account. In this sense this is the absolute opposite to the concept of security for everyone, which is the antithesis of unilateralism. Just as neoglobalism is the antithesis of peaceful coexistence. It is the appropriation of the right to alter the internal order in countries where you don't like it.

FALIN: There is here, if I may say so, one vital aspect. First, the theory ascribed to us, the desire to have spheres of influence, is false at the very root. Spheres of influence are exactly what we don't want to have. We wish to maintain good, normal relations with all countries, in particular, of course, with our neighbours.

Second, we first started to help Afghanistan in 1978, providing armed assistance in 1979, whereas U.S. intervention, American-organized armed intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan had started in 1976, if we want to be accurate, if we want to proceed from the exact facts.

There is also a third aspect. We are prepared to pull our troops out of Afghanistan at any time....

ARBATOV: We are not only prepared to do that but we want to....

ZORIN: It is absurd to equate Afghanistan and Nicaragua. In the one case we have help for the legitimate government against aggression, in the other, aggression against the legitimate government.

FALIN: In effect, we are putting forward only one condition to have intervention from the outside ended. As for Nicaragua, the Americans are actually stipulating their right to continue to intervene in that country's affairs in the future as well, in keeping with the theory formulated by Secretary of State Shultz after the U.S. assault on Grenada, to the effect that after Grenada the world would never be the same. That was what he said.

OWEN: Grenada is a small island to which the United States was asked in by the neighbouring countries to put down what was an internal insurrection.

ARBATOV: I think the U.S. first asked its neighbours to invite it....

FALIN: So we have not a call girl but a call boy.

Continued from the previous issue.

OWEN: It was on a completely different scale to Afghanistan. It is a different issue to Nicaragua. As regards Nicaragua, the United States was claiming in its defence that it was worried about the Cuban influence there. I'm not defending the U.S. position over Nicaragua, and I hope you would not defend your continued occupation of Afghanistan. We can understand why these problems arose. There was the Islamic revolution taking place. It first swept through Iran and then swept through a number of other countries, and was threatening Afghanistan. I agree with you: you had a problem on your borders, and I can understand that problem. I don't think you went in for offensive reasons, to gain new territory. I think, to be honest, you went in for defensive reasons. But the fact remains that you are there. I want to say that non-aligned countries, not to mention the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and other countries, criticize the Soviet Union for its presence in Afghanistan and the United States for its intervention in Nicaragua. And we have to listen to the non-aligned, Third World countries. I think they have justice on their side on both issues.

BAHR: I don't think we should argue too much about Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Grenada, and so on. Let us come back to your question. I hope the West European countries will be strong enough to resist every unilateralism on the American side in Europe. I think in this way. I have not voted for those who now decide my destiny. This is also connected with nuclear weapons. I really want to get rid of them. This would also mean to reduce the potential threat to Western Europe by the conventional weapons and armed forces of the Warsaw pact. Such a basis has been provided by your General Secretary. Let us begin negotiations on this range of issues. This can change the situation in Europe, and an agreement in this sphere will have its value even if the two big powers do not achieve immediate results in their strategic arms talks.

ZORIN: Whenever I read what the rather numerous advocates of neo-globalism in the United States say, Herr Bahr, I recall an aphorism of yours which I have taken a great fancy to. You once said that stupidity is not more attractive because it is collective stupidity (laughter). Dr Owen, I trust you will not take offense at what I now want to ask you (laughter). I know that you are a Cambridge graduate in neurology and psychiatry. Right?

OWEN: That's right.

ZORIN: In this connection I'd like to ask you what you think, precisely in this connection, about fear of the Soviet threat which certain quarters are inflating?

OWEN: I think the West has always failed to understand the shock of the second world war on the Soviet mind, the massive losses that you experienced. Not many people realize as they are driving from the airport to Moscow that the German forces were right on the outskirts. I think this has added to a historic tendency for the Soviet military to overensure. So you have always tended, I think, to take a pessimistic view, as was clearly shown by Arbatov's contribution here. Therefore, we must not exaggerate too much the fact that you have very substantial land forces and considerably more tanks, for example, than we do. This does not mean that you are about to threaten us and have a war. I personally do not think there is any high likelihood of an attack, an invasion, a war in Europe. I think we've reached a modus of understanding between us. I think détente never meant that the struggle between the communist ideology and the ideology of the Western democracies would be abated. What we tried to do is to order our relationships. I think this has been done, though not yet sufficiently. I do not see you as a threat therefore, as an aggressive military force. But, like you, I wish to be on my guard. I want strong but not superior forces. I would like to keep that guard up, but at a lower level, conventional and nuclear, all the time. I don't think you are about to invade us. I don't think that in this sense you are planning a threatening attack. Those who speak that language in the West speak the language of the minority. I don't think they represent the view of the majority of Western opinion, and usually when they speak so they are scoffed at. This does not mean, of course, we are not going to have our guard up. We are aware of the fact that we have different ideologies and you wish to expand the ideology of communism. But I don't think you are intending to expand it by armed aggression. I think that if war ever happened it would unfortunately happen by accident, and that's why we have got to be on guard against it.

ARBATOV: Since I have no education in psychiatry or neurology I find it harder to pass judgement on the minds of others. Still I think it nevertheless odd that the West cannot understand why the Soviet Union was compelled to pay such attention to defence after the war. That started with the U.S. nuclear monopoly. I do not want to recapitulate here the entire history of our version of the cold war and compare it with yours. Yet that was a reality I remember well as a person with a fully conscious view of things in those first few years after the war. We unexpectedly felt, to our disappointment, an immense threat from those who had been our allies. However, now I believe we must not think about the past. I hope you will perhaps make the connection as you are a politician, and not only a neurologist and a psychiatrist, and thus think of a way in which we can surmount the psychological barriers and reach a really new mode of thinking, so as to realize that all this talk about a threat is, to remember the classic "Alice in Wonderland," Mad Hatter talk. That is out of the question nowadays. Europe cannot afford a conventional war, let alone a nuclear one, we must move away from that and think about completely different things, different tasks. We talk and spend most of the time in a political dialogue that, regrettably, deals with the problems of yesterday, although there are the problems of today and tomorrow—European, worldwide or national—and they confront us imperatively. Here, I think, a turn of the tide is important. But to achieve it, we must discard the burden of the old mode of thinking, of the old doctrines, of the old policies, of the old type of foreign policy conduct, of the old pattern of international relationships.

FALIN: There is one paradox we must not overlook. They have always been afraid of us, at least throughout the 20th century. Yet we always got it in the neck (laughter). We always overarmed before the war, though until the Volga was reached, it was realized that it was not a matter of arming. . . .

ZORIN: Until the Germans got to the Volga. . . .

FALIN: Yes. After the war we were made to arm so that it would be harder for us to restore our economy. However, it was said that we were arming and making threats. There will come a time when it will be vital to introduce the line of demarcation, that we currently seek in other matters, between truth and falsehood, and when we find it, it will be easier for us to understand one another.

ZORIN: I would like to put the following question to our guests. Political quarters in Europe are currently discussing the fate of the SALT treaty. Dr Owen, how do you see it?

OWEN: I think that SALT-2 limits

have been very important and that they should be maintained. In my opinion, SALT-2 was a slightly disappointing treaty in the sense that it capped a future expansion but did not reduce existing weaponry. If we could now move on to a strategic arms reduction agreement, I would be happy, and I would be quite happy to let SALT-2 go and become absorbed in the new treaty. But before that happens President Reagan, in my view, would be wise to continue to keep to the limits. In his first presidential election he campaigned against the SALT-2 treaty. It would not be worth the candle giving up the limits on SALT-2 at this stage, in my judgement, and I hope he will not do so. I think the Congress, not just the Democratic Senators but Republicans too, are going to put great pressure on him not to break the limits.

ZORIN: Herr Bahr, taking into consideration what you have said to the effect that you did not come to Moscow to censure your allies, I would nevertheless like to ask how you regard the American leadership's stated desire to abandon the SALT-2 treaty.

BAHR: I share the view expressed by David Owen, and I can only add that all the arguments given by our American allies in favour of renouncing SALT-2 were unable to convince the foreign ministers of NATO countries, including those who represent very conservative governments. So, for the first time in the history of this alliance we are faced with the fact that all the other member countries criticized Reagan's announcement that he would not be bound by SALT-2, because this would open an unchecked race in strategic weapons.

FALIN: There is here, I think, an important aspect, if not two. First, the SALT-2 treaty did not only impose a ceiling. It also called for a cut in strategic armed forces. Had the treaty been ratified, strategic forces would have been cut by ten per cent or so as the first move towards a still more substantial cutback in armaments to be agreed within the context of SALT-3. Second, and this is not alluded to now, this is what Hedelman referred to two or three years ago. Less was said then about the so-called Soviet violations and more about the fallacious principles underlying this document. In a letter to Congress, or to be more precise to the Senate, Hedelman said that the basic reason for not ratifying the treaty or for not seeking to prolong it, was that the Administration did not want to carry over, to make law for the United States the principles underlying this treaty.

What underlies this treaty is the basic principle of parity and equal security.

ZORIN (addressing Falin): There is one more subject I would like to take up. I now have a question to you, and would like you to answer it while Herr Bahr is here. You are a well-known specialist on problems related to the Federal Republic of Germany, as a former Soviet ambassador there. I would like to ask you what has been happening to its policy of late.

FALIN: Well, no doubt a lot is happening to that country's policy. More specifically, this policy for the most part is looking backwards instead of forwards. Now, a backward look does not always prevent one from seeing what lies ahead, although it might be superfluous to recall what has happened in the past. I think some things have been forgotten as regards what we had acknowledged, that what both sides deemed necessary in the 1970s was to avoid actions that could imperil the interests of either side, to view themselves as part of something more significant, of something of a general nature, specifically, all-European security. Today we hear arguments that whether this is of advantage or not to the Soviet side is unimportant, because this is advantageous to the security of Western Europe. Now this is something we categorically object to. What may be of advantage to us is something we ourselves may reject, without any urging from your Western side, for the sole reason that reduced security for the United States and Western Europe is simultaneously reduced security for the Soviet Union and its friends. I think it has become far more difficult to maintain mutually advantageous economic relations, more specifically, because of increased Western discrimination and preconditions. There is also a whole series of other aspects, which perhaps we ought not to dramatize but which, unfortunately, exist. These are circumstances that simply cannot be overlooked.

ZORIN: Herr Bahr, as you do not have to say anything against your allies in this matter I would like to hear your point of view.

BAHR: You know I can make it rather short. Together with my party I have every reason to replace the present government. One of the main reasons is, we are convinced, that a new round of what we call Ostpolitik, the policy of détente is necessary. We would like to establish a long, lasting tendency with the result that it would be really impossible to start an attack from either side, especially conventional. I do not decide on nuclear. At the same time it is necessary to establish economic cooperation which would serve as an additional support of the common interest in the maintenance of this cooperation so that we could say: let the coming generations solve the rest of the problems.

ZORIN: Thank you. I would like to go on with the subject and ask Dr Owen what has been happening of late to Britain's policy. Frankly speaking, I would like to say that I, for one, cannot see this British policy of late as an independent factor.

OWEN: I think that England, the United Kingdom, is a very close friend of the United States, and that is historically the case. But I would not exaggerate the importance of the slow shift that is taking place in Britain since it joined the European Community. We were a late member of the European Community, we only joined it in 1973. But if you still see British relationships as primarily linked to the United States, not to Europe, I think you have missed quite a significant shift. Britain is becoming more European with every year. It is still retaining and, I hope, it will go on retaining close friendship with the United States. But increasingly we understand that, as our empire has voluntarily been given up, our colonies have achieved independence and our economic position has grown weaker, Britain is going increasingly to exercise its influence as a European power, and that's why I attach a lot of importance to relationship on defence and on nuclear strategic questions between France, Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany. France and the Federal Republic have now established a very important relationship on all aspects of policy, including defence, conventional and nuclear. I want to see the same relationship built with Britain, and I think increasingly it will be in the Soviet interests to see a strong, united, democratic Europe, a little bit perhaps more self-confident in its relationship with the United States. We are not going to be split away from the United States. None of us wants this, and it is not going to happen. But I think there will be a more genuinely European view. And as a European view comes through so we shall find naturally, because we are fellow Europeans with the countries of Eastern Europe and also the Soviet Union, there will be a similar view on some issues. Take an example. I have no reasons to defend my Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, and

like Egon Bahr, I hope that in the next election we shall come into government. She is often depicted as very close to President Reagan. But when it came to the question of applying sanctions and stopping cooperation in the construction of a gas pipeline of importance to you in Eastern Europe, Britain refused to do so. We thought it was a wrong thing to do, a wrong sanction to apply, and we refused to do it.

So you must not think that Britain is purely and simply in the pocket of the United States. There have been occasions when, I think, we made wrong decisions. Take Libya, which is a controversial question. I think on balance Mrs Thatcher made a wrong decision. But if you are a friend and an ally, you have got to be prepared to take supportive actions even if you sometimes don't agree with. You do the same for your allies.

My feeling about the Soviet Union is that at times you've given the appearance of wanting to divide Europe away from the United States. That is not a fruitful course for you to take. We will not be divided from the United States. That was shown by the decisions on modernization of tactical weapons through 1981 to 1983. What is more important is for you to encourage a dialogue between our countries for Western Europe to be more self-confident in its relationships with the United States and more united. The more united we are, the more powerful influence we'll have on the United States. Perhaps it will be rather vain to say so, it will be a beneficial influence on the United States.

ARBATOV: I beg to differ. We are not setting ourselves that objective, though of course this may be the belief of some people.

ZORIN: . . .We are realists.

ARBATOV: One comes across the view that Europe should be divided and isolated from its ally, the United States. We do not set ourselves that objective, firstly, because we are realists and we understand that that is out of the question and, secondly, because we want to have good, normal relations with both Western Europe and the United States. We do not think that trying to tip the scales either side would change anything. That is not the right approach for tackling problems of peace. Hence we do not seek to wreck your alliance. We merely want it to conduct a decent policy and if that happens, well, you are welcome to be friends with the United States.

FALIN: Georgy Arkadievich (Arbatov), there is a point David Owen made which is most important. This is that in conditions of détente and normal relations, the influence that states have, whether as big as Britain or not so big, is much greater. Countries then have additional opportunities for self-expression, for representation, for defending their own interests, and in that respect the entire military factor which the great powers or superpowers create or do not create is offset. That is very important.

ARBATOV: Such a situation of tension resembles an emergency situation, when nobody can do what he pleases.

ZORIN: As the time allotted is about to end, I would like to give everyone here two minutes each, not more, to reply to the question of how you see the prospects ahead in the political process. Let us begin with you, Valentin Mikhailovich (Falin).

FALIN: The prospects depend on what we shall do this year and at the beginning of next. I really do want to believe, although perhaps I have no grounds for it, but I just want to believe that we should be giving thought not only to what is right and correct today but what will also be right and correct for the coming generation. We must not dispossess that generation and bequeath to it such problems in the hope that it will be cleverer than we are and will be able to resolve these problems. Perhaps they will be cleverer, but they will not be able to resolve these problems, as we shall be placing them in a situation where these problems cannot be resolved.

ZORIN: Dr Owen?

OWEN: I think this is a watershed year, and I think it is extremely important that the United States and the Soviet Union get together. I think that the personalities of these two men, Gorbachev and Reagan, having met them both, is very crucial. And therefore I think it is vital that they meet. I think it is important that they start to make progress, and I think that Europe can have its influence. I think the nations of Eastern Europe can influence the Soviet Union, its negotiating position, perhaps to make it at times more flexible. I think the West European democracies can have a beneficial influence on the United States to persuade it to come to the negotiating table and reach concrete agreements. I think we should use this influence. If we do so, I think by 1987 we can be back on the ordered relationships between our countries. In the meantime, I attach a lot of importance to an exchange of ideas, to discussions—we've talked about many controversial issues round this table: Afghanistan, Nicaragua and other areas—and I think that this sort of dialogue between our nations going out to millions of people builds understanding and trust—and that is the basis of common security.

ZORIN: Thank you. Herr Bahr.

BAHR: We are living on one earth. Nevertheless, Chernobyl has shown that we can live either in common insecurity or common security. It has shown that a common European house really exists. So let's combine our efforts to develop European security. It will be very good for the rest of the world.

ZORIN: Georgy Arkadievich (Arbatov)?

ARBATOV: Well, I've already been accused of being a pessimist. I would say I think we have in store a none too easy period, a none too easy time and that most radical changes are needed. Our adversaries here are not only those who oppose these changes, our adversary is the force of centuries, even millennia, of habit, of tradition, the inertia of all those millennia, when these questions were settled by war, by armed force. That must be done away with.

Yet, that is incredibly hard, extremely difficult. Humanity has never faced such a problem. On the other hand, humanity has never faced such a danger, has never been forced by such an objective situation to resolve this problem. I think this will, of course, be a far from easy thing to do, but however difficult it may be, we simply have no right not to resolve the problem.

This problem is on history's agenda, you see, and we simply cannot take "no" for an answer. It must be resolved. I would like to end by quoting a great English materialist. As you see, David Owen, in your honour I have refreshed my memory. What Francis Bacon said was that man must not only look for opportunities, but create them.

I think that we in the Soviet Union have tried to do that over the past year, have been doing that most energetically so.

ZORIN: All that remains for me is to thank the participants for our interesting conversation, to hope that this will not be our last meeting here in Studio Nine and to thank our audience. Till we meet again in Studio Nine. Thank you.

■

YOU ASK...

Could New Times give an account of the life of the peoples of what I consider the extremely exciting region of the Bering Sea, Chukotka and Kamchatka.

Giovanni RIGONE, Montebelluna, Italy

PEOPLES OF THE NORTH

YURI RYTKHEU

Some 20 different nationalities and smaller ethnic groups are scattered over the vast expanses that stretch from the Chukchi Peninsula in the extreme northeast to the Kola Peninsula in the west, over Arctic shores enveloped in snow and ice for the better part of the year, as far as the dense forests of the Ussuri and the Amur river basins. We find here Chukchi, Giri, Nganasans, Dolgans, Koryaks, Evenks, Evens, Ukakhanty, Mansi, Nentsy and Enetses, to mention only a few.

The Arctic Circle, which runs close to the 67th parallel, is a purely conventional and invisible line of demarcation. Yet in this country there is a spot where one can see it. On the longest day of summer, when in my native village of Uelen—on Cape Dezhnev, a mere 45 miles from the American continent—the sun dips exactly halfway into the ocean, one may take that line with which the watery horizon intersects the solar disc as the Arctic Circle. In Salekhard, capital of the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Area, one can plant both feet on the Arctic Circle, as the town straddles this remarkable line of demarcation and has a symbol in one of the town squares to prove it.

For most of this country's indigenous northern population, reindeer breeding has been the staple activity from time immemorial. Yet there are two nationalities in the Soviet North for whom the hunting of marine animals is the main means of livelihood—the Eskimos and the Chukchi. I have had occasion more than once to take part in such hunting expeditions as, for instance, whaling. Nothing could be more fascinating! This is truly a job for real men, a fascinating duel between the human being and the marine giant. It is no wonder that immediately after a successful whaling expedition there is usually a grand Whale Carnival. The only difference is that nowadays the age-old custom of giving homage to the gods of the sea has been replaced by the glorification of the powers and might of man.

The world's largest reindeer herds roam the Soviet Arctic. The grazing grounds of the Saam breeders are in the Kola Peninsula. From the district capital of Lovozero, where herders live in comfortable flats with all modern conveniences, it is a ninety-minutes drive to the winter grazing grounds of the Tundra state farm. Anisim, who takes care of a herd for a team of five or six, says the reindeer has far from exhausted its biological potential. "The animal can carry far more weight than it does now, which means its hide could be larger," he contends. "The reindeer will continue to serve man as it has served him throughout the ages."

The reindeer herder of today is an educated person. Many have a special zootechnical training. Yet the Arctic ethnic groups did not acquire written alphabets until after the October 1917 revolution. Before that their vernacular did not have the words or concepts for reading, writing or book.

Now the literature of these ethnic groups is making tremendous progress. Such writers as the Mansi, Yuvan Shestalov, the Nanai, Grigory Khodjer, the Nivkh, Vladimir Sangi, the Nenets, Vasily Ledkov, the Evenk, Alitet Nemtushkin, or the Chukchi writer Antonina Kymytval and her Eskimo colleague Zoya Nenlyumkina have become popular throughout the multinational Soviet Union, as well as in their home regions.

Ancient dances have brought to life the now nationally famous Ergyron Chukchi-Eskimo group of professionals, as well as other groups, such as the celebrated Koryak Mengo, which has widely toured in Europe.

Still well remembered are the rites of shaman witch-doctors, the only "health service" the northern tribes had. Olga Tumnettuvier, a doctor from Anadyr, capital of the Chukchi Autonomous Area, told me that whereas a shaman treated her for a childhood illness, not very long ago she herself treated the shaman at the local hospital.

People are sometimes amazed at how rapidly shamanism vanished in the Soviet North. The popularity enjoyed by the shaman, often an extraordinary personality in his own right, derived from his powers to spot wild animals, select what we would now term the optimum trek for reindeer herds, forecast the weather, relieve men and animals of disease. He was a keeper of tradition and folkways, weatherman, doctor, and "ideologue" all rolled into one. However, shamanism has long given way to science. This process was relatively painless, largely due to the swift progress of education and the inclination towards materialistic world outlook on the part of the Northern people.

However, new problems are emerging. Before, man always had to seek protection from the elements, wild animals, and the cold. Now nature itself must be protected. This is due to intensive industrialization in regions formerly difficult of access, where extremely rich mineral deposits have been discovered.

Several years ago the deputy from the Chukchi Autonomous Area issued a warning from the rostrum of the Soviet parliament, the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, and a special law was passed to safeguard the Arctic environment. The first reservations were established and one of these was in the Chukchi Peninsula.

The UNESCO Secretariat once asked me to draft a project for the study of the cultures of the Arctic ethnic groups in all northern countries. Thus the Arctic project was born, its basic objective being to study and preserve the languages, cultures, customs and environments of the high latitudes. May I emphasize that the experience accumulated by the population of the Soviet North since the advent and consolidation of Soviet power has evoked keen interest in the northern regions of other countries.

Within the context of the UNESCO Arctic project a book entitled "Peoples of the North Speak for Themselves" is being completed. It will be about the present status of these ethnic groups. Though there is no dearth of studies of the area, here you have an authentic voice issuing from "the white land of silence." The peoples of the Soviet North are signally contributing to the work of various international commissions for the protection of Arctic fauna, including the International Whaling Commission.

We have long parted with those numerous deities who our ancestors believed could explain mysterious and bewildering phenomena. For us today the Soviet way of life increasingly reveals its true value as does our cultural heritage which we seek to preserve in the new world we are building.

■

TAKING UP A POINT

Despite all my sympathy for your country I am doubtful as to whether you will ever be able to overtake the advanced Western countries in economic, scientific and technological progress. Does this not mean that what you call the imperialist system is more efficient and viable than the communist system!

William MITCHELL
Los Angeles, U.S.A.

LEONID GOLOVANOV, Cand. Sc. (Phil.), replies:

In the first place I think the question rather artificial, although I know well that you are not the only person to ask it. The question of whether we overtake or not resembles in its way an invitation to jump onto a train heading straight for paradise, as there is no other track. What I want to say is that we have our own train, our own track, and our own destination. Using your vocabulary, I could ask whether the "advanced Western countries" will ever overtake us in, for instance, the domain of social justice or the solution of the nationalities problem. On their present track they will never do so.

However, I do not seek to sidestep the issue. I simply want to note that in the context of a socialist social system the import and content of the process of economic, scientific and technological development are totally different from what they are in your country, for instance, where this process has reached a high level of development. Now development is not synonymous with progress.

Development leads to genuine progress only when it is beneficial to all of society, not just the privileged elite. It is no progress when the scientific and technological revolution engenders unemployment and compels people to subsist on alms thus demeaning their dignity. Nor can you call progress a situation when the leading capitalist countries suck the blood of the economically backward nations by exploiting them and plundering their natural resources. Finally, how can one speak of progress when the research of scientists, the strenuous efforts of workers and immense material resources are wilfully, deliberately drawn upon to manufacture armaments and super-armaments spelling death to any social system, and to all humanity?

We have no inferiority complex when, drawing comparisons with economically advanced capitalist states, we note that we lag behind in certain key branches. We say so openly, self-critically, even sharply. We look for and find the roots of our mistakes and don't forgive ourselves for our own miscalculations. We have set about truly revolutionizing the economic structure, having calculated exactly that before the century is out we will be quite capable of doubling the national economic potential.

If we lag behind, it is not so much our lagging behind the West, I would say, as lagging behind ourselves. This is because, by virtue of a whole range of objective and subjective reasons, we failed to cope with the job of making full rational use of the available material and intellectual potential that the socialist system commands. The outdated system of extensive development did not yield in time to the intensive system of development. Further, parochial interests, which in some measure prevailed over national interests, stood in the way of rechannelling investment and material resources into promising economic branches. We now realize that this affected the tempo of the scientific and technological revolution as well as the application of its achievements in socialist economic practices.

However, we are not engaging in futile self-reproach. On the contrary, we seek to answer the challenge time has confronted us with by implementing the plans for economic development which the CPSU adopted at its 27th Congress. At its plenary meeting in June the CPSU Central Committee geared the advancement of social production to intensive methods to accommodate the far more expeditious application of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution.

Thus, by 1990 output in the instrument-making industry will grow by a factor of 1.7, while computer output will more than double. Everything is being done to enable science to cater more rapidly and efficiently to industry and farming. In the 19th century Karl Marx qualified the future process of production as an experimental science, materially creative and objectively realized. That is our aim.

Not a wealth of "things," not profit, but the human being who will be able to display all his powers and capabilities, the human being as society's basic, superimportant "capital," is the object of our aspirations, the destination of our train, which gathers speed according to its own schedule. That is fundamental.

In 1932 chairman of the board of a British bank, while observing that he was no Communist, no Bolshevik, but definitely a capitalist and an individualist, said Russia was advancing. He said that though the five-year plan had been ridiculed and expected to fail, it had exceeded its targets. He advised people not to underestimate Russia's plans, as it was a country of astounding activity. So let me end with this very topical observation of a British banker. ■

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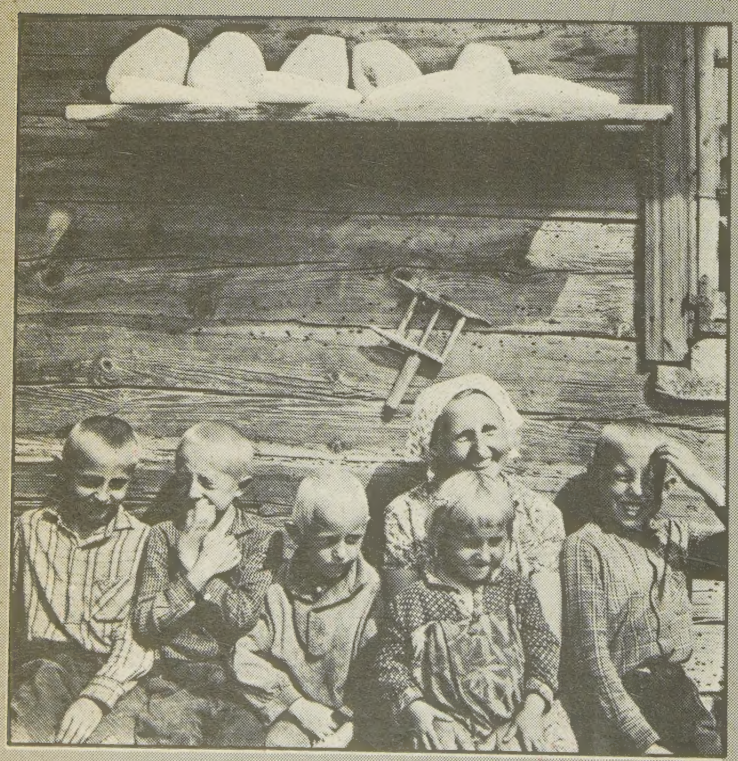

A Lithuanian family.

Photos by Antanas SUTKUS (U.S.S.R.)

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